

THE CHRONICLE OF SALIMBENE OF PARMA:
A THIRTEENTH CENTURY
CHRISTIAN SYNTHESIS

BY

CHARLES JAHLEEL WOODBRIDGE

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Charles Jahleel Woodbridge

Approved April 27, 1945

Albert E. Outler

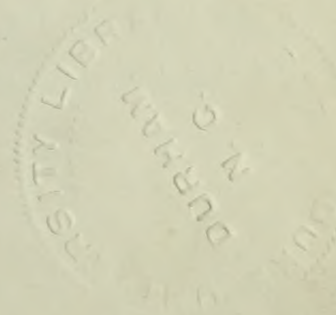
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PREFACE

PREFACE

The Chronicle of Salimbene of Parma is a window through which the changing panorama of the thirteenth century may be viewed. In this dissertation I have sought to peer through the glass and to study, in new perspective, the political, ecclesiastical, religious, and social scene of the chronicler's day.

But the volume is also a mirror. It reflects an engaging personality, a candid, easygoing, but shrewd observer of events and persons. The dissertation is, in a measure, an attempt to survey the century through the eyes of a Franciscan who himself was an actor on the stage he describes. In this effort I have endeavored to search the friar's mind and to ascertain the basic influences which determined his outlook and motivated his conduct. Clearly his world view was determinative of his literary work.

Salimbene has quoted Walter the Englishman (p. 512):

"ratio preteriti scire futura facit." To a degree this statement is valid. Lessons gleaned from the past are timeless in their application. It is equally true, however, that the future impinges on the present in unmistakable fashion. Both these facts find ample illustration in the Chronicle. I have tried to point out the basic synthesis unfolded in its pages.

It would be impossible adequately to express my sense of appreciation to Dr. Ray C. Petry, who has guided me in this study, for his patient, painstaking, and inspiring assistance. The facilities of the Duke University Library have been available throughout the work. My gratitude to the Library personnel for their unfailing helpfulness is deep and sincere.

C. J. W.

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THE CHRONICLE OF SALIMBENE OF PARMA:
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Chapter I

SALIMBENE AND HIS CHRONICLE

The thirteenth century was a period of kaleidoscopic change. In Italy it was marked by the widening of intellectual and social horizons, by the rise of fresh and vigorous movements of the spirit, and by the clash of strong, antagonistic forces. Among the documents which mirror the events and personalities of the day, none is more valuable than the Chronicle of Salimbene, Franciscan friar of Parma.

The Roman Catholic Church was the most far-reaching influence of the century. The chronicler is deeply interested in her successes and failures, and in her strange and turbulent career. When Innocent III was pope, the church reached the acme of her prestige and power. Her stupendous claims were matched by remarkable achievements, her geographical boundaries were extended, and her hold on the lives and thinking of men was tightened. She opposed all heresy with persistence, persuasiveness, and ultimately with force. She enlisted men in a great

crusading effort to rescue the Holy Land from the hands of the infidel. She was not always faithful to her high ideals, yet she always regarded herself as the hope and refuge of men, the Mother of men's souls. As the years rolled by, however, she was called upon to pass through periods of severe stress and strain.

For ever against the church stood the empire, a sprawling political structure which, while ideally the opposite side of one universal shield, actually entered into sharp competition with the church. The emperor Frederick II was the leading imperial figure of the day. Nourished at the bosom of the church, he early turned against his foster parent and plunged northern Italy into a long and weary struggle. In the attendant confusion families and cities were divided, the country-side was devastated, and men were confronted with the dreary reality of hunger, suffering, and death.

Yet in spite of the wide-spread disorders, the thirteenth century witnessed the rise and development of important movements. Nationalism was emerging as a force to be reckoned with. Universities were being established. Art and architecture were coming into their own. Towns were springing into prominence, and there was a new, bustling spirit of trade and commerce. The atmosphere of the age was one of intellectual, spiritual, and cultural progress.¹

¹For a review of the cultural interpenetration and wide diversity of thought in the thirteenth century, one might profitably consult E. Emerton, The Beginnings of Modern Europe (Boston, 1917), pp. 1-79, 215-251; G. Schnürer, Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter (Paderborn, 1924-26), II, 235-523; or H. O. Taylor, The Mediaeval Mind (New York, 1919), especially the chapter entitled "The World of Salimbene," I, 510-533.

Early in the century the mendicant orders came into being. St. Dominic and St. Francis embarked upon the high road of renunciation, and a glad company of Preachers and Minors followed in their train. These Religious were an influential international brotherhood. They constituted a channel of communication, a vehicle for the transmission of news and ideas, a medium of intellectual exchange. In addition to serving a noble religious purpose, some of them proved to be shrewd observers of the contemporary scene.

The earliest Franciscan reporters were chroniclers² of provinces. Among them was Fr. Thomas, usually known as Thomas of Eccleston, who wrote "On the coming and spread of the Friars Minor in England."³ A second author was Jordan of Giano, who described the Minors of Germany.⁴ But the most notable

²The medieval chronicle is well described in The Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, ed. William Stubbs (Rolls Series, No. XLIX, London, 1867), I, xi-xiii, cited in J. W. Thompson, A History of Historical Writing (New York, 1942), I, 159, 160; and in R. L. Poole, Chronicles and Annals, A Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth (Oxford, 1926), pp. 7, 8. A distinction is drawn between a history and a chronicle, the former being regarded as a work of art in which style is emphasized, and the latter as a faithful, orderly, simple narration of acts and dates.

³Liber de Adventu Minorum in Angliam, in J. S. Brewer (ed.), Monumenta Franciscana (Rolls Series, No. IV, London, 1858), I, 1-72. This work describes the arrival of the friars in England in 1224, their early hardships, the rapid extension of their influence, their outstanding leaders, and anecdotes and experiences during the initial days of their sojourn in the island kingdom.

⁴Chronica Fratris Iordani a Iano, in Analecta Franciscana (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1885-), I, 1-19. For discussion of the nature and historical value of this chronicle, and of that by Thomas of Eccleston, see A. G. Little, Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents (Manchester, 1943), pp.

chronicler of all was Salimbene of Parma, whose work is not a record of any one province or nation, but a description of the age and world in which he lived.⁵ Relying largely upon his own personal experiences and reminiscences, he has given to the world a living and detailed portrayal of the events which crowded the years between the time of Francis' death and the close of the thirteenth century. It is very important, therefore, to find out who Salimbene was, what he had to write, and the manner in which he wrote it.

4 (continued)

26-30; A. Sabatier, Vie de S. François d'Assisi (Paris, 1898), pp. xcv-c; J. R. H. Moorman, The Sources for the Life of S. Francis of Assisi (Manchester, 1940), p. 62 (n. 3); and H. Lemaître and A. Masseron, Saint François d'Assise, son oeuvre, son influence, 1226-1226 (Paris, 1927), pp. 26, 27.

⁵Chronicles were popular long before the time of the mendicant orders. Monasteries and cities often preserved their historical traditions in this literary form. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, too, produced many chroniclers of note, among whom perhaps the outstanding writers were Otto of Freising (d. 1158), whose Chronica is an interpretation, as well as a record, of history (available in the series Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XX, 83-301); Roger of Hoveden (d. 1201), author of a Chronica which consists, in large part, of lengthy compilations of other documents (available in Rolls Series, No. LI); Roger of Wendover (d. 1236), whose Flores Historiarum is a frank narration of history to the year 1235 (RCH, Scriptores, XXVIII, 1-73); and Matthew Paris (d. 1259), who wrote the Chronica Majora (Rolls Series, No. LVII). Consult Thompson, op. cit., I, 180-292. There were also important Dominican chronicles in the thirteenth century, such as that of Gerard of Fracheto, which, to be sure, is inferior to those of his Franciscan contemporaries. See Little, op. cit., p. 25. Thus by the time Salimbene composed his monumental work, a distinctive chronicle psychology had developed.

Salimbene of Adam, author of the Chronicle,⁶ was born in Parma on October 9, 1221.⁷ His father, Guido of Adam, loyal citizen of Parma, had been a crusader in the days of Baldwin, Count of Flanders (37).⁸ His mother, Imelda de Cassio, was a humble, devoted, generous hearted Christian (55). She was Guido's second wife. Altogether six children were born to the father, three girls and three boys. The eldest boy was named for his father; the second died at an early age; the youngest was our chronicler Salimbene.

⁶The Chronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1905-13), in series Monumenta Germaniae Historica, vol. XXXII. This scholarly edition of the Chronicle has been translated, with a few important omissions, into German, and is available in A. Loren, Die Chronik des Salimbene von Parma, nach der Ausgabe der Monumenta Germaniae (Leipzig, 1914). Two vols. In these two works the care and precision of German scholarship are impressively demonstrated. G. G. Coulton, in his From St. Francis to Dante (London, 1907), has translated large sections of the Chronicle, and has dealt with some of its central subjects in partial and inconclusive fashion. Of recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in Salimbene's work, as is evidenced by the appearance of such an article as E. Emerton, "Fra Salimbene and the Franciscan Ideal," in the Harvard Theological Review, VIII (Oct., 1915), 480-503; or H. R. Bennett, "Salimbene," in the Anglican Theological Review, XXVI (Jan., 1944), 1-9.

⁷The details of Salimbene's life are given in the Chronicle. They are not found in any one section of the work, but scattered throughout the whole. Through the process of selection, assortment, and reconstruction, a fairly accurate picture of the career of the wandering friar may be drawn. In the Praefatio to the Chronicle, B. Schmeidler presents an analysis of the important events in the chronicler's life (vii-xx).

⁸I.e., page 37 of the Holder-Egger edition of the Chronicle. This simplified method of pagination will be used henceforth because of the necessity of frequent reference. The H. R. edition lists, throughout, the parallel folios of the Vatican Codex of the Chronicle.

The author's original name was "Omne-bonum." Looking back across the years, he is sure that this was a term of family endearment. For as the youngest child he must certainly have been regarded as a welcome gift from heaven, a little one in whom all good resided, and from whom all good might be expected. He retained the name until 1238. In that year, while a young novice in the order of St. Francis, he met an aged monk who expressed amazement that the young man would dare to bear such a title. "My son," the old man said, "no one is good save God alone. Henceforth let your name be Salimbene, because 'tu bene salisti' by entering a good religion" (39).

Salimbene is proud of his family tree. He describes it in detail, avowedly for several reasons (56). Sister Agnes, his niece in the order of St. Clare at Parma, wanted information concerning her maternal grandfather. He was glad to supply this information in order that Agnes might know for whom she ought to pray, and because the recording of genealogies was a custom of antiquity. Further, the recital of family relationships would provide an occasion for good and useful remarks; and it would also emphasize the fact that life, after all, is brief.⁹

The chronicler stresses two events which took place during his infancy. The first was his baptism. Lord Balianus of Sidon,

⁹M. Tabarrini has prepared a diagram indicating the inter-relationships of Salimbene's family. It is printed in an article "Nella Cronaca di fra Salimbene," in Archivio storico Italiano, Nuova serie, XVI, 1 (1862), 25-69.

a great baron of France who had just returned from across the sea, raised him from the sacred font in the baptistry of Parma, which was adjacent to the baby's home (34). The second event was the earthquake of 1222. Salimbene lay asleep in his cradle along with his sisters when the earth began to tremble. His mother, fearing that the walls of the baptistry might fall and crush her offspring, rushed into the room where the children lay, snatched up the little girls, and removed them to a place of safety. The baby boy was temporarily left behind. The mother explained later that the girls, because of their size, were easier to carry. But Salimbene never quite forgave her for this evidence of partiality to the weaker sex (34).

There is little about Salimbene's childhood in the Chronicle. This is perhaps to be expected, for the book was written during the last seven years of the friar's life, when he was over sixty years of age. He describes only a few of the events which made a vivid and lasting impression upon his mind. He early learned the rudiments of grammar (277). As a boy of eight he saw unusual war machines in the square of old Parma (60), and during the next few years he came into repeated contact with the harsh realities of war. In 1235 he gazed in astonishment upon the elephants and other rare animals which the emperor was taking to Lombardy via the city of Parma (92). The next year he saw the advocate of his home town riding through St. Christine and urging his fellow-citizens to aid Modena in battle. But perhaps the experience which made the deepest impression upon him during this

period was the so-called "Alleluia" of 1233. He describes at length the fervent demonstrations which accompanied this strange religious phenomenon. Years later, in 1260, he witnessed a similar movement of the spirit, the "veneration," as men termed it. But, as a boy of twelve, he shared in a peculiar way the mystical excitement of the earlier experience.

In 1233 Salimbene made a momentous decision. He determined to enter the Franciscan order. Perhaps his brother Guido persuaded him to take this step. Or it may have been Gerardus of Modena, a preacher who made a profound impression upon the boy, and who formally requested the minister-general to receive Salimbene into the order. At any rate, on Feb. 4, 1233, Brother Elias¹⁰ welcomed him as a novice into the monastery at Parma (39). And, proud of his genealogy though he was, the author writes that he and his brother Guido ended the family line by becoming Minors, "that we might be able to build it in heaven" (56).

His father was heart-broken when he learned of the step which his son was taking. He pled with the boy to change his mind, and at length resorted to threats and curses in the endeavor to

¹⁰The generalate of Brother Elias (1232-1239) marked an important transition in the historical development of the Franciscan poverty ideal. Under Elias' leadership it became possible for the order to possess property. (This subject will be discussed in chapter four.) Salimbene himself profited by this change; he received his paternal inheritance (609).

bring him to reason.¹¹ He appealed to the emperor for aid, and Frederick II wrote to Brother Elias urging him to comply with the father's request and to release the boy. But all efforts were in vain. The young neophyte, although of a tender heart, was adamant, and repelled his father's advances with the use of Scriptural quotations. The Minors sent him to Fano for safety.¹² And because he remained unshaken in his purpose, the Virgin rewarded him with a beatific vision. He seemed to hear her voice calling to him while he was before the altar in prayer. Raising his eyes he beheld the Mother of God seated above the altar. She had her little boy on her lap, and invited Salimbene to kiss him. The young friar accepted the invitation, embraced the divine Son, and received the Virgin's blessing. And, behold, an "indescribable sweetness" filled his heart to overflowing (41).

¹¹There is an interesting parallel between the attitude of Salimbene's father and that of the father of St. Francis when the Poverello left his home. For a description of Pietro's conduct when Francis chose the poverty ideal see I Cel. 10-15; II Cel., 12; Bon; II, 2-4; Tres. Soc., 17-20. These abbreviations refer to the First Life and the Second Life of Francis, by Thomas of Celano, to Bonaventura's Legenda Major, and to portions of the Legend of the Three Companions. For further data see R. C. Petry, Francis of Assisi, Apostle of Poverty (Durham, N.C., 1941), p. 19.

¹²During his novitiate at Fano, Salimbene studied under Bro. Humilis of Milan, a doctor in theology who had been under the tutelage of the learned Aymo in Bologna (277). Francis had been suspicious of "knowledge" in his order; but, with the passage of the years, the more progressive point of view triumphed in Franciscan thinking, and study became a part of the Minors' routine of life. See references in Petry, op. cit., p. 30.

When Brother Elias heard that Salimbene had withstood his father's entreaties, he allowed the young man to choose the area in which he would serve. Persuaded by two Tuscan brothers, the chronicler chose their province as his place of residence. But learning of his father's plot to have him kidnapped, he left Fano at once and went to Asium, the town where the emperor Frederick was born.

It is important to trace Salimbene's career rather carefully from this point on, for his qualifications as chronicler depend to a large degree upon the nature and variety of the experiences through which he passed.

From Asium, under Elias' orders, Salimbene journeyed to Tuscany, where he lived for eight years (44). First he resided in Lucca (1239-1241), where, presumably, he was received into the order. His experiences here were varied. He studied singing under the famous song-writer Vita, witnessed the 1239 eclipse of the sun, and actually saw Frederick II. He was gradually becoming accustomed to the privileges and restrictions of monastery life. From Lucca he went to Siena to live (1241-1243). This city was active on the emperor's behalf, and the chronicler must have heard a great deal about Frederick II and his exploits. He gives his readers some intimate glimpses into his life in the Siena monastery. Bonfillius, bishop of the city, consecrated him a subdeacon (329), and the circle of his friendships continued to widen. He came into contact with interesting personalities. There was Henry of Pisa, custodian of the monastery, who taught him singing (384); Hugo of Digne, whom he heard preach for the

first time (234); and Bernardus Quintavalle,¹³ whom Francis received first into the order (39). One can sense, as he reads Salimbene's description of life in Siena, a growing eagerness in the young friar's mind to put down on parchment the experiences through which he was passing.

His next place of residence in Tuscany was Pisa (1243-1247).¹⁴ Guido of Adam now made a final effort to persuade his son to renounce the order. He sent Parmesans to the monastery to plead with him to come home. The despairing parent hoped that his friend, Pope Innocent IV, would intervene on his behalf and order the young man to return to Parma and to his senses (61). But his hopes were dashed, and he died while the chronicler was still at Pisa. As he recalls those critical days of decision, Salimbene is pleased at the will power he displayed in resisting all efforts to bring him back into the secular world. Far from disobeying his heavenly vision, he continued in Pisa along the pathway of his choosing. Vitalis, archbishop of the city, ordained him a deacon in St. Mary's Cathedral, on Oct. 9, 1246 (182).

¹³This first disciple of the master impressed the sensitive young Minor profoundly. To come into contact with the personality whom Francis himself had chosen first of all was but one step from meeting the Poverello in person.

¹⁴He mentions seven Minors and thirty lay brothers who were stationed at Pisa. A survey of the towns in which the author resided for at least a year shows that he had ample time to acquire a varied and reasonably accurate store of information. The fact that he moved his headquarters so often suggests that he was able to compare notes with changing groups and to gain a wider perspective for the writing of his Chronicle.

The young friar's store of information steadily increased as he learned yet more about the teachings of Joachim, or as he watched the ships which the emperor had sent to be used against the Genoese (535). His stay in this bustling seaport furnished him with excellent material for the lengthy section of the Chronicle which deals with the Pisan-Genoese wars.

From Tuscany Salimbene was transferred to the province of Bologna. He was living in the monastery of Cremona when Parma, which had previously adhered to the emperor, rebelled against the imperial regime. On a visit to the city of his birth, he saw the result of inter-city strife: Casalmaggiore burned by the Mantuans (197). In Parma itself he witnessed the daily struggles between the imperial and church parties (196). He saw five soldiers hanged as traitors, a proof, he felt, of the emperor's cruelty. But his trip to Parma was not altogether without reward. He was reconciled to his mother, who entered the Parmesan convent of St. Clare. The chronicler never ceased to be grateful that she had made this decision.

And now there came a turning point in Salimbene's career. From Parma he was sent to France to give himself to the study of letters. His first major stopping-place in this country was the city of Lyons, to which the papal curia had removed. Possibly he had with him a letter from the legate to the pope. At any rate he was courteously received in Lyons and had intimate and lengthy conversations with the pontiff. The details of these interviews are often mentioned in the Chronicle.¹⁵

¹⁵See, for example, pp. 61, 178, 297, 318.

The next months were busy ones for the friar. From Lyons he journeyed to Provence. On the way he passed through Villefranche, where he met messengers returning from the Tartars, and through Troyes, Brie, and the French Champagne. He managed to include an eight day sight-seeing tour of Paris. And thence he continued to the cloister at Sens. Everywhere he went, he writes, he was warmly welcomed, for he was a "peaceful and happy companion," and knew how to praise the works of his new acquaintances (212).

In 1248, while ill in the monastery hospital at Sens, he heard of the fall of Victoria, the emperor's hastily constructed city not far from Parma. Later he visited Cluny¹⁶ and stayed for a brief period in the "castrum" St. Maximinus (520). Thence he went to Auxerre where he was stationed for further study by the Franciscan minister of France (214).

One is impressed by the freedom of action now granted to the young man. He accompanied a preacher of the crusade in his wanderings (218), and returned to Sens for a provincial chapter, where he met the remarkable French king, St. Louis, whose personality, manners, and career he describes. He followed the king to Vezelay, where the monarch gave a remarkable exhibition

¹⁶The author reminds his readers that Cluny is a "most noble monastery of black monks in Burgundy". He notes particularly the large number of dwellings at Cluny, and her extensive facilities for entertaining guests. It is remarkable that the chronicler was able to visit so many places of historical interest during his relatively brief visits to France. Sens, Lyons, Paris, Auxerre, Tarascon, Cluny, Hyères--such cities were pivotal in the historical and religious development of the author's times.

of humility (225). Returning to Lyons, he continued on his way down the river Rhone to the city of Arles, on by sea to Marseilles, and then to Hyeres to see Brother Hugo of Digne. At the Minors' convent in Aix (294) he copied portions of an exposition by Joachim. At Tarascon (295) he met the minister-general, John of Parma, and with him he visited the tomb of St. Martha, which was highly revered in this city. He joined John's entourage, chatted with the minister about receiving the office of preaching, stood his examination, and was given the right to preach. John allowed him to choose any place of residence he desired, with the exception of Paris. The chronicler expressed his willingness to be sent anywhere, and the minister-general designated Genoa as his next stopping place.

He spent the winter of 1249 in Genoa. His memories of this seaport always remained vivid. It was here that he was consecrated a priest by the bishop of Corsica, and was taught how to sing the mass; that he heard a new bishop preach; that he visited a Cistercian monastery and learned about a Minor who had apostatized and become a bishop; and that he heard about the capture of Enzo, warrior son of the emperor Frederick II. From February to May of 1249 he was away from the Genoa monastery on a business expedition in the interests of the Minors. This journey took him once more to Lyons, where the minister of Bologna rebuked him for going to Genoa, rather than to Paris, to study, and ordered him back to the province of Bologna. Obedient to his command, Salimbene left Genoa in June, paused

briefly at the celebrated monastery of Bobbio, and then continued on to Parma, whence he journeyed to Ferrara, his headquarters from 1249-1256 (165).

Salimbene was by no means idle in Ferrara. In addition to performing his customary monastic duties, he always seemed to be on hand when events of interest were taking place. He heard the papal legate Philip preach the crusade, and was a member of the astonished audience when Pope Innocent IV solemnly announced the death of Frederick II. When he was not making new friends, or delving more deeply into the mysteries of the prophet Joachim, he was hard at work composing a chronicle. The friar had the instinct of a reporter. He seemed to have been unhappy until the results of his observations were actually written down on parchment. But in Ferrara he had the misfortune to run out of writing material, and one of his contemplated chronicles was never completed.

Up to this point it is relatively easy to reconstruct the outline of Salimbene's life. But from now on only fragments of information can be gathered here and there from the Chronicle.¹⁷ For the Minor was ceaselessly roaming.

¹⁷A. O. Holder-Egger has a series of articles on the life and travels of Salimbene entitled "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Bruders Salimbene de Adam," in Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXVII, 163-218, and XXVIII. In these articles he traces, in scholarly fashion, the itinerary of the chronicler during his years of wandering. Holder-Egger did not live to write a Preface to his edition of the Chronicle. Had he done so, he would probably have incorporated in the Preface the material found in these articles.

In 1258 he was in Modena (456), where he had a dispute with Gherardinus de Burgo San Donnino concerning Joachim and his doctrine. The same year he returned to Parma, where he saw the company of five hundred men who followed the doughty warrior Ghibertus de Gente. In 1259 he spent several months in Burgum San Donnino, where he wrote a book of Tedia after the pattern of Pateccolus (373). He returned then to Modena, and was at Saxolus at the start of a strange religious movement known as the "veneration" (in 1260), and at Parma again at the height of the fanatical demonstration. In 1261 he made a trip to Bologna, but he does not tell us what he did there, nor how long he stayed in the famous university town.

Some things in the friar's life cannot be tied down to definite places and years. But in at least three sections of the Chronicle (191, 433, 434) the author writes that he spent five years in Ravenna and other places in Romagnola.¹⁸ In 1265 he visited Faenza. The same year he took a trip to Assisi, on the way to which he stopped at Alverne,¹⁹ where he saw the honored shrines associated with St. Francis' life, and where he preached and celebrated mass (556). And all the while he was

¹⁸He was there probably during the years 1264, 1265-6, 1268, and 1269.

¹⁹To the reverent Franciscan this sacred spot conjured up hallowed memories similar to those associated with Calvary. On the cross the Saviour had received wounds for man's redemption; at Alverne his loyal follower had passed through the mystical experience of the stigmata.

picking up information of all kinds and storing it away in the treasure-house of his memory.

Between 1266 and 1270 he lived in Parma (372), Ravenna (480), and Imola (429). He was in this last city, off and on, over a period of five years (191). A list of his experiences from this time to the end of his life should include his participation with the Bolognese in the siege of Forlì (in the year 1283); a visit to the province of Bologna (1276-7), where he saw the Minors returning from an expedition to the Tartars; a stay of one year each in Bagnacavallo and Monte del Re; a sojourn of six years in Reggio (518); and journeys to Anconitana and Romagnola, Saxolus, and Modena. From December, 1285, to September, 1287, he lived in Montefalcone (606). At about this time he was sent on a mission to the pope, but he probably did not reach the papal curia, for he mentions the embassy no more. In all probability he died in 1289.

A recapital of this outline of Salimbene's life makes it clear that the friar's qualifications for writing a chronicle were numerous. His contacts were wide, his opportunities for observation were many, and he was apparently a genial soul in whom men readily confided and who was often entrusted with important missions. Wandering as he did from place to place, he became familiar with the political, social, and religious movements of his day. The results of his observations he records in the pages of his Chronicle in a manner which faithfully reflects the rich experiences of his earlier days.

Salimbene was the author of several works. He refers often to "alia cronica" which he had written (e.g. 152).²⁰ But the Chronicle before us is his masterpiece. Careful investigation reveals that it was written at various times and in different places. The first 207 folios were probably composed in 1282-1283 while Salimbene was in Reggio. Little phrases such as "Now it is 1284," scattered here and there throughout the next section, indicate that folios 208 through 382 were probably also written in Reggio through June 23, 1284. It is difficult to check accurately what follows, for the author sometimes appears to foresee events which have already happened; he occasionally treats living men as though they were dead; he deletes, or re-writes, some sections; and not all of the folios were written in chronological order. Perhaps the friar had completed the first 420 folios by the time he left Reggio (between August 6 and December 25, 1285). The sheets 413, 429, and 433, seem to have been composed in Parma. Various indications²¹ show that the

²⁰On page 29 he writes: "Similia fecimus in multis aliis cronicis, que a nobis et scripte et edite et emendate fuerunt." Although he had to discontinue the chronicle which he was writing in Ferrara, it is evident that other chronicles occupied his attention for many years. These additional documents are mentioned in a discussion of the doctrine of Joachim (293): "... sicut in hac cronica et in alia et in tertia et in quarta nec non et in tractatu, quem de Helyseo feci, optime et pluries demonstravi." He was confident that his chronicles were of literary value. Apparently he composed a work, too, dealing with the similarity between Francis and Christ (195). On this ever popular theme no medieval writer has written with greater comprehensiveness than Bartolommeo de Pisa, De Conformitate vite Beati Francisci ad vitam Domini nostri Jesu Christi (Milan, 1513).

²¹See, for example, quotations from folios 453, 454, 455, 457, 459, 462, 481, and 486.

final portions of the book were written with interruptions until after June, 1288.

It is impossible to analyze the Chronicle fully. But the following general outline will indicate the author's major themes:

pp. 1-29	the chronicle of Sicardus, bishop of Cremona.
pp. 29-187	the years between 1212-1247, including the "Book concerning the Prelacy".
pp. 187-254	the years 1247 and 1248.
pp. 254-294	treatise on the Segalelli.
pp. 294-333	travels in 1248 and 1249.
pp. 333-444	the year 1250, in which Frederick II died.
pp. 444-506	the years 1251-1280 (largely following the <u>Liber de Temporibus</u>).
pp. 506-652	the years 1281-1287.

Salimbene's aim in writing the Chronicle was to instruct and to edify his niece. To accomplish his purpose he was determined to utilize available historical sources, to order them, to improve them, to add to or subtract from them, to reconstruct them grammatically, and to correct their errors and crudities (29). He was convinced that mistakes had crept into many historical records, either because succeeding writers had followed their predecessors blindly, or through laziness or lack of experience in writing. His goal was to handle his material, not ornately, but accurately, and in a simple and intelligible manner.

The sources which he used were varied. There were first what might be termed the formal sources. Foremost among these was the Chronicle of Sicardus,²² bishop of Cremona. The first

²²This Chronicle and Miliioli's Liber de Temporibus are available in MGH, XXXI, 22-183, 353-572. The editors of this magnificent series have obviously included these two documents in the

29 pages of Salimbene's Chronicle reproduce important portions of this work. Then there was the Liber de Temporibus,²³ by Albertus Milioli, a notary of Reggio, from which Salimbene often quoted, and the rude Latin of which he corrected and amplified. From this book he copied material dealing with events up until the year 1280. He also made use of the Chronicle of Martinus Oppaviensis, sometimes alone (506), and at others in connection with the words of Albertus Milioli. Other sources were Peter Comestor's Historia Scolastica, and the History of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon.²⁴

In addition to these, Salimbene was familiar with Donizo's Life of the Countess Matilda, with the Annales of Parma, with the Decretum Gratiani, with the Decretales Gregorii IX, with the Codex Justiniani,²⁵ and with various documents of his time, such

22 (continued)
volume preceding Salimbene's Chronicle because of the latter's extensive use of them in his work.

²³For an interesting comparison between this and Salimbene's Chronicle, see A. Dove, Die Doppelchronik von Reggio und die Quellen Salimbene's (Leipzig, 1873), pp. 47-68.

²⁴Such historical material was well-known to literate persons of the thirteenth century. On this see, for example, Thompson, op. cit., I, 167, 277.

²⁵An available translation of Justinian's Corpus Juris is found in S. P. Scott (ed.), The Civil Law (Cincinnati, 1932). 17 volumes. Vol. I contains an excellent critical bibliography, pp. 50-54.

as the Gesta Karuli,²⁶ and important items of official church and state correspondence.²⁷ He used the lives of the saints extensively,²⁸ and was especially fond of the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine.²⁹

Scattered throughout the Chronicle are verses and little snatches of poetry. The author knew little about the ancient poets. Ovid is the only one of these he mentions by name (547). The words which he quotes from Juvenal, or Horace, or Martial, he actually found in medieval collections of poetry ("florilegia"), or in the writings of medieval poets,³⁰ not in the ancient poems themselves. In the course of his wanderings Salimbene collected entire poems, scattered verses, and little popular jingles which brighten the pages of his book. Some of these lines are anonymous (91). Others are avowedly extemporaneous, as, for example,

²⁶These familiar works are utilized by the chronicler in a variety of ways: he quotes them briefly, acknowledging his sources; he incorporates entire passages from them in the Chronicle, e.g. the Gesta Karuli (523-525); and he makes use of their historical or legal material without mentioning his sources.

²⁷E.g. pp. 208, 298, 393, 580, 622.

²⁸E.g. pp. 48, 115, 228, 270, 592.

²⁹A discussion of this source is presented in chapter V of this thesis. The most usable edition of the work is G. Ryan and H. Ripperger, The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine (London, 1941). Two volumes.

³⁰He quotes from the Distichs of Cato (31, 147, 149, 173, 198, 202, 397, 437, 457, 590); from Claudian's In Eutropium (66, 106, 646); from Prosper of Aquitaine (107, 455).

the rich verses which the wicked primate addressed to his archbishop in defense of his misdemeanors (84). The chronicler often quotes "a modern poet," Henricus Septimellensis (137), the Liber Tedium of Patteclus (98), and Walter the Englishman (306). He recites the words of travelling poets, some of whose ditties are highly flavored.³¹

The Franciscan often quotes the poems of his contemporaries. There was Boncompagnus of Florence, a great jokester, who wrote a little skit deriding Brother John of Vicenza. The chronicler has forgotten the beginning and the end of the poem, but he jots down the words he can recall (78). Master Morandus, teacher of grammar in Padua, had composed a little poem portraying the virtues of wine. Salimbene heard the lines somewhere and includes them in his Chronicle (219). Philip, chancellor of Paris, had written a little gem describing the life of a prelate and his subordinates, and the eager friar had jotted it down for incorporation in his master-piece (442-444). He utilizes, too,

³¹There is, for example, the bold attack on the simony of the papal curia:

"Accusative ad curiam si coperis ire,
Proficis in nichilo, si pergis absque dativo" (227).

Or the little poem in favor of the repeated use of wine:

"Vinum de vite det nobis gaudia vite.
Si duo sunt vina, michi de meliora propina.
Non prosunt vina, nisi fiat repetitio trina.
Dum quater poto, succedunt gaudia voto.
Ad potum quintum mens vadit in laberintum.
Sexta potatio me cogit abire suppinum" (572, 573).

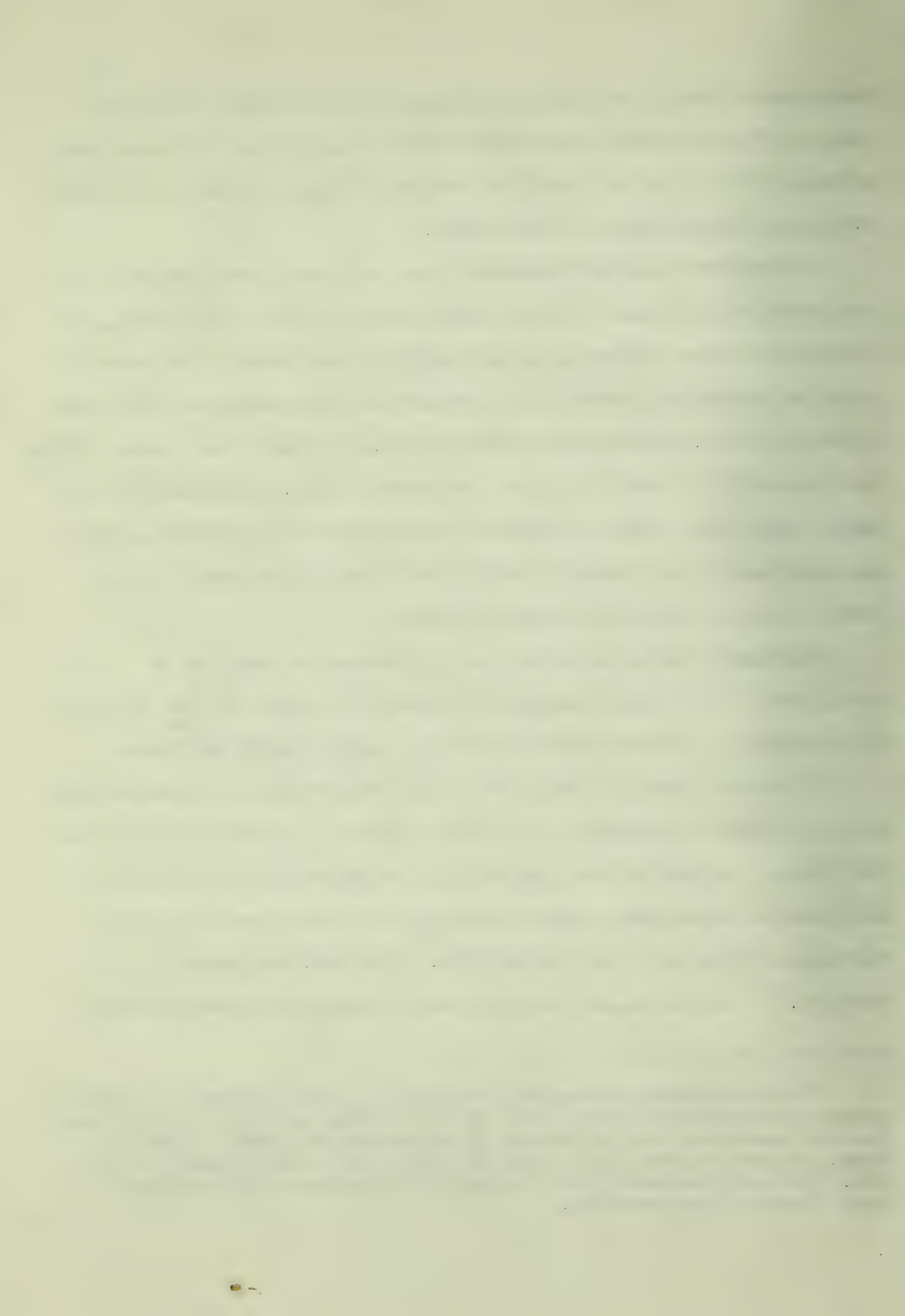
the hymns of Henry of Pisa and Richard of St. Victor (182), of Brother Vita of Lucca, who wrote both the words and the melodies of hymns (183), and of Cardinal Thomas of Capua, whose lines were set to music by Henry of Pisa (184).

It mattered not to Salimbene what subjects were treated in the poems he learned. If the words would enliven the record, or underline a moral lesson, he was ready to use them. His poetic passages describe a strange assortment of subjects: the phenomena of nature (34), dislike for onions (99), the malice of women (132), the complaint of the Virgin at the cross (340), contempt for the world (381), the folly of mixing water with wine (430-432), the relative merits of insects (578), the life of the world (600-603), and many other intriguing themes.

Salimbene was a moralist and a preacher as well as a chronicler. His formal sources include the books of the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the early church Fathers.

A careful study of his use of the Scriptures is illuminating. At the slightest pretext, and often without a pretext, he quotes the Bible. Sometimes his quotations are appropriate; sometimes they can be associated with the subject in question only by a strenuous effort of the imagination. One text suggests another.³² And soon, as one quotation tumbles over another in

³²That Salimbene used concordances in this process is indicated by the way in which text follows text, and also by the fact that he mentions the existence of concordances (175). Cardinal Hugo, he writes, was the original author of concordances in his day, but in process of time better concordances were produced than those of the prelate.



repetitious confusion, the original train of thought often disappears from view, only to emerge again with startling suddenness. The procedure is usually as follows: a common-place statement of fact suggests to the writer some passage from the Bible; this passage reminds him of others, either parallel verses, or words which stress the disadvantages of the opposite point of view, or phrases which simply happen to contain words found in the original statement of fact. The multiplication of passages brings to mind moral axioms which are often pressed home, sometimes by the presentation of a number of reasons for their validity, and often by the use of illustrations. Frequently this process of Biblical meandering occupies several pages of the Chronicle. Sometimes it seems to reach specific goals; but at others it continues in dreariness and futility until the author simply desists, and gropes around for his point of departure, with some such phrase as "But enough of this material; now let us return to our original theme" (550).

Salimbene quotes the Bible in three ways:³³ verbatim, mentioning the Scriptural passage from which the words are taken;

³³The chronicler's use of the Scriptures seems artificial and stilted when compared, for example, with the genuinely erudite and masterly work of St. Bonaventura, great scholastic mystic of the Franciscan order. In the thirteenth century the Bible was frequently interpreted literally, allegorically, and tropologically. For a discussion of this system of interpretation, and for the use of the Scriptures generally, see St. Bonaventura, "Ars concionandi", in Opera Omnia (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae), IX (1901), 8-21. The relationship between Biblical study and medieval sermons is ably discussed in L. Bourgain, La chaire française au XIIe siècle d'après les manuscrits (Paris, 1879), pp. 233-242. The function of the Scriptures in connection with the sermon was treated before Salimbene's day in such works as Guibert de Nogent, Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat; or Alain de Lille, Summa de arte praedicatoria. These writings are available in J. P. Migne (ed.), Patrologia Latina (Paris, 1844-64), CLVI, col. 22, and CCX, col. lll.

directly, but without mentioning the passage; and simply in passing, using Biblical phraseology in the narrative portions of the work. He makes use, altogether, of more than three thousand Bible quotations, as he frequently repeats many of his favorites. He is especially fond of the Old Testament, and quotes most often from Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes. All but three of the Biblical books furnish him with usable passages. These three books are Ezra, Zephaniah, and Philemon. He also uses the Apocryphal literature extensively. The effect of such frequent references to the Bible is seldom inspiring, and often boring.

Another of Salimbene's formal sources was the writing of the Church Fathers.³⁴ These quotations occur with unexpected frequency in the Chronicle. At times they stand alone, and at others they are coupled with passages from the Bible. Usually they are pointed and effective, but occasionally they are dull and anti-climactic. His favorite Fathers are Gregory the Great and Jerome, whose writings had been the vogue in church circles for centuries. The former is quoted nearly sixty times, and the

³⁴There are in all more than 150 such quotations (several used repeatedly) in the Chronicle. In this connection the work of the editor is especially valuable. For although Salimbene at times mentions by name the Father whom he is quoting, he is often silent as to the literary parentage of his quotations. Helder-Egger has located most of the undesignated references, but he is puzzled by many others. These familiar portions from Gregory and Jerome are most readily accessible in MPL, CXX; LXXV, cols. 509-1162; LXXVI, cols. 1-1310; LXXVII, cols. 149-430; or in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Leipzig, 1866-1919), LIV.

latter nearly forty. Salimbene unquestionably had access to many books, including collections of the works of the Fathers. He uses Gregory's Dialogues, his Moralia in Job, his Regula pastoris, and his Homilies. From these volumes he selects and quotes material dealing with the miraculous acts of the saints, with Biblical and moral ideals, with Christian virtues and vices,³⁵ with the qualifications of good clerics, with the history of Italy, with doctrines of the Bible, and with theological problems. He quotes from Jerome's Commentaries (e.g. on Matthew), his Prefaces (e.g. to the Twelve Prophets), but especially from his Epistles. He feels that Jerome was a great man who became more useful to the church by retreating from Rome than if he had remained and had been elected pope (230).³⁶ From the writings of this church Father he has gathered brief and pithy proverbs, striking descriptive phrases, Biblical interpretations, and advice concerning ecclesiastical practices.

³⁵This was an ever popular theme in the middle ages. It was commonly believed that there were four cardinal, and three theological, virtues; and, over against these, there were the seven deadly sins. See, for example, F. Holthausen (ed.), Vices and Virtues, Being a Soul's Confessions of Its Sins, with Reason's Description of the Virtues, E. E. T. S. no. 89 (London, 1888). Aquinas' discussion of the virtues and vices is found in his S. Theol., Ia IIae, QQ. 61-62. Consult L. P. de Julleville, Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française des Origines à 1900 (Paris, 1896), II, 178-182.

³⁶The passage continues realistically: " . . . quia, si papa fuisset, forte fecisset diaconas IIII or et presbiteros V et episcopos Postquam autem a vobis recessit, multos edidit libros et multos exposuit et Bibliam transtulit."

Salimbene also knew some of the writings of Augustine, from whose Sermons, Epistles, Confession, and second book on Christian Doctrine (252) he quotes. Most of these extracts have to do with Christian conduct and standards.³⁷ The chronicler seems to have read, too, a few of the works of Origen,³⁸ of Chrysostom,³⁹ and of Ambrose, bishop of Milan.⁴⁰

The friar is a moralist. He is never happier than when driving a moral lesson home. Sometimes he is effective in this, but at others he is beside the point. His method is to present his case, and then to apply it through the use of illustration and enumeration. His illustrations are taken from the Bible, or from interesting anecdotes of the day. His system of enumeration is usually strained and always academic. He lists, for

³⁷The ten-line quotation (600) on the life of the world is one of the most effective in the Chronicle.

³⁸The editor doubts this. See 133 (note 5), 264 (note 4).

³⁹Most of his quotations from Iohannes Os-aure, according to the editor, are really from Pseudo-Chrysostom, Opus imperf. in Matthaum. See notes on pp. 133, 247, and 301.

⁴⁰Other writers of note upon whom Salimbene calls for illustrative material are such men as the venerable Bede (138, 163, 186); Tullius (Cicero) (469); Epyphanius (20, 92); Rufinus (45, 216); Leo I (458); Seneca (266, 283, 307, 426, etc.); Isidore of Seville (181, 462, 547, 583); Macrobius (531); Ovid (63, 305, 547); Horace (276); Hilary (138); Cassiodorus (140); Orosius the historian (186); Cato (574, 590); Basil (59, 108, 563); Boethius (80); Claudian (66, 646); John of Damascus (338, 353); and Bernard of Clairvaux (68, 112, 117, 125, 130, etc.).

example, five sorts of people whose power is cruelly exercised (65); eight reasons why the words of a Florentine who slipped on the ice and fell were out of place (79); three excuses for the brother's curtness (82); four reasons why Christ is like a hen with chickens (117); three reasons why subordinates should be esteemed by prelates (119); five occasions for using the second person singular in addressing one's neighbor (120); four reasons for levity (146). Through such literary devices the author covers a wide range of subjects dealing with the proprieties and improprieties of life.

But in addition to the literary works from which he gathered material, Salimbene had a variety of informal sources. The former are interestingly utilized, but the author's use of these more personal and direct sources is what lends to the Chronicle its freshness, its frankness, its color, and its intimate, personal nature. Basically this is the quality of the work which differentiates it from the ordinary history or chronicle of Salimbene's day. There is a spontaneity, a naturalness, an informality, which make the book invaluable as a source of historical information. The author creates an atmosphere as well as imparting facts; he makes his characters live and breathe, not as artificial heroes and heroines crossing the stage of history, but as men and women of flesh, with their vices and virtues, their joys and their tears, their daily concerns with daily duties.

The chronicler's first informal source was his own experience and observation as he travelled from place to place. His eyes and ears were always open, and he often makes affirmations and undergirds them with the statement: "as I saw with my own eyes" (436).

A second source, one which he esteemed very highly, was the testimony of the friars. On one occasion, when he was reporting the Pisan-Genoese wars, he wished to give an accurate estimate of the number of prisoners and slain on both sides. He writes that the archbishop of Pisa had mentioned a certain number, but that the Minors whom he was expecting from Genoa and Pisa would give him a more accurate account (534). The Franciscans seemed to be everywhere. If there was a miracle to be authenticated, there was a brother on hand to do so (315). If the dangerous tides of Farum were to be described, the author could write, "All the above I have heard hundreds of times from the brothers of Messina, who were my very dear friends" (351).

The friar had an unusual talent for making friends among the Minors and then conversing with them amicably. Franciscan leaders chatted confidentially with him. Brother Hugo of Digne, eloquent preacher who once denounced the cardinals to their faces, reported to Salimbene this attack and the reasons for its effectiveness (226).⁴¹ Provincial ministers were the author's

⁴¹Doubtless the friar's denunciation of the prelates was due to the fact that, in his opinion, they were not measuring up to St. Francis' poverty ideal. Hugo's views on renunciation are expressed in his De Finibus Paupertatis. See the Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, V (1912), 290.

confidants.⁴² All the chief companions of John of Parma,⁴³ he writes, were his friends (551). These cordial contacts furnished Salimbene with a rich assortment of news and views from many sections of the world. In the solitude of their monasteries the ordinary Minors, too, must have spent a good deal of time exchanging opinions and passing on choice tidbits of information. It was from his Franciscan friends that the chronicler learned about the shyness and deceit of a certain papal legate (390), about the astonishing loyalty of Pope Alexander IV (454), about a ruinous earthquake (548), about the physical appearance of the king of Hungary (167), and about the stigmata of St. Francis⁴⁴ (195).

Church leaders welcomed the news-gatherer, too, into the circle of their friends. Cardinal Hugolinus, later Gregory IX, was friendly to him (383). The Archbishop of Ravenna was always cordial (400), and the author's repeated visits to the curia at Lyons brought him into touch with other high-ranking

⁴²Some idea of the influence and versatility of the early provincial ministers may be gathered from the "Catalogue of General Ministers of the Franciscan Order", in the Appendix to the Holder-Egger edition, pp. 653-674. See also Little, op. cit., pp. 189-207.

⁴³Salimbene also lists, and describes in detail, the companions of John of Parma. For discussions of these see my chapter on the mendicant orders.

⁴⁴This legend, taken from the life of the founder of the order, exercised a tender and enduring influence upon the Minors. For description of the mystical experience in Francis' life see Bon., XIII, 1-10; II Cel., 135; T. Okey (tr.), The Little Flowers of St. Francis (London, 1910), pp. 78ff.

ecclesiastical officials. He seemed to be at ease, too, in secular society. He was acquainted with Frederick's "tyrants" (381), with the podesta of Milan who helped in the election of Alexander IV (604), and with the scions of the Encola family, who were among his companions (610).

And then, of course, there were the common people, among whom Salimbene mingled freely. A chance bystander told him about the mighty concussion which occurred when a certain tower fell: the moat was emptied and a white salmon leapt into the air (95). A prisoner, who had been released by the enemy after Parma's war against the imperial forces, reported that most of the Parmesans had been captured (335). Dallius, the court clown, was the chronicler's friend (354). A doctor ("phisicus") described for Salimbene John of Parma's defense⁴⁵ of the Franciscan order at Paris (300). Among those who came to the inquisitive friar to confess their sins were persons of high and low rank. Through these Salimbene enlarged the circle of his acquaintances and added to his supply of information (375).

To appreciate the author's style one must pick up his Chronicle and read from it at leisure. There is no substitute for this. His ideal for a writer of history is that he should be a "public" person, so as not to describe too much evil nor

⁴⁵The debate between the University of Paris and the mendicant orders will be discussed in chapter IV of this dissertation. The problem was very complex, and involved not only the Franciscan poverty ideal, and the place of study in Francis' original scheme, but also the whole matter of Joachim and his doctrine.

to be silent concerning the good (472).⁴⁶ He is often loyal to this high standard of fairness, although occasionally, as in his lengthy and repeated descriptions of the shortcomings of Brother Elias,⁴⁷ he seems completely to have ignored his ideal, heaping upon the unhappy brother the vials of his prejudice and wrath (99).

The friar usually arranges his material chronologically, not topically. He dwells upon the events of one year and then moves on to the next, even though this procedure involves a good deal of repetition. He adopts this plan intentionally and defends it as an allowable literary device.⁴⁸

But although the chronicler has adopted this policy he is as free as the wind in its application. Sometimes he lingers unduly on one theme, and then becomes silent "for the sake of

46" . . . Debet enim historiarum scriptor communis esse persona, ita quod nec tantum omnia mala describat unius et omnia bona subiceat."

47Salimbene cherished a deep-seated grudge against Brother Elias. In the so-called Liber de Prelatis (96-163), he presents twelve of Elias' "defects." It is a formidable list, and offers the author an opportunity to discuss at length his ideal of a good prelate and the manner in which Elias fell short of this standard.

48He writes, for example, "Si quis querat, quare omnia que de Tartaris sunt non posui simul, dico, quia successive et fiebant et successive narrabantur michi, et ideo oportuit me ea scribere modo sub isto millesimo, modo sub alio, sicut fiebant et sicut ad meam noticiam poterant pervenire. Sic etiam fecit Moyses in libris suis. Non enim omnia que ad sacrificia et oblationes pertinent posuit simul, sed sicut successive audiebat a Domino, ita scribebat et interdum interserebat hystorias" (619).

brevity" (218). At times he excuses himself for dwelling at length upon one subject. "The Spirit," he writes, "bloweth where it listeth," and man must not interfere with its breath (174)! He digresses often and interminably. Yet he has ready excuses for his literary detours: first, his conscience urging him on, he cannot refrain from following the new train of thought; second, "because we always say things which are good and useful and worthy to be related"; third, "because we always return later to our original material" (185). Sometimes these digressions interrupt the narrative permanently, as in the case where he writes, "We shall have more to say about this legate when we come to pope Martin IV" (437, 438); and, when he finally describes Martin, he has almost forgotten the legate.

But in spite of these interminable wanderings, and possibly because of them, the chronicler is able to deal with a great number of subjects. He seems to be interested in everything, from the ice-storms of Italy to the weight of the imperial crown. His book is not a mere history, nor a book on morals, nor a treatise on natural phenomena, nor a description of church and state. It is a mixture of all these with a multitude of other themes added. Sometimes one subject is developed at length. At other times the author skips from one theme to others with surprising suddenness, as, for example, when he takes his readers from the constellation Scorpio to the Scriptures and thence to ravioli in the brief space of eight lines (547). But always, even in the strangest assortment of inconsequential statements, Salimbene seems aware of the fact that there is an

underlying unity in all the diversity of themes he discusses.

The chronicler has a keen imagination. His language is often picturesque, as when he describes the city wars of northern Italy, in which first one commune and then another was victorious, as resembling a game which little children play.⁴⁹ He writes that the Lombards are oblique, and as slippery as eels.⁵⁰ Some of his similes are excellent, as when he compares the extravagantly unselfish man with a candle which consumes itself to serve and illumine others (121). Occasionally the writer is extreme in his frankness and realism. He enters, for example, into ugly and gruesome detail in depicting the putrefaction of Frederick's dead body (347). He is never indecent in his language, but he candidly describes indecent scenes with some degree of relish.⁵¹

The friar's language is usually clear and simple. He feels perfectly free to vary the rules of grammar whenever it seems necessary to do so. He shifts from the singular to the plural with ease, and defends the practice as one often found

49". . . quando ponunt et superponunt manus super genua sua, quia, dum quilibet vult victor existere, extrahit manum de inferiore parte et superponit alterius manus ipsum percutiendo, et sic se existimat habere victoriam" (590).

50". . . lubrici, dum aliud locuntur et aliud agunt, ut si vellis anguillam aut murenulam strictis tenere manibus, quanto fortius presseris, tanto citius elabitur" (342).

51 Some of these descriptions are listed in Coulton, op. cit., pp. 416-425.

in the Bible. The grammarian Donatus, he insists, permits such "metaplasms" and illustrates its usage by quotations from the poets. But Salimbene, while desiring to write grammatically, does not wish to teach grammar, as he regards the art simply as a vehicle of speech, not as an end in itself (185).

The thirteenth century was an age of transition linguistically. The ancient Latin was yielding to the dialects of the various regions. Patois was coming into its own. This dawning of a new day is reflected in the Chronicle. As the wandering friar journeyed from one district to another he learned some of the peculiarities of speech which marked the various regions. He discovered that in Tuscany a vessel for wine was called a "flasco"; in Lombardy it was a "botacium." He found that the English, when drinking, were accustomed to say politely, "Ge bi a vo" (113).⁵² The inhabitants of Sicily and Apulia used to say throatily, "Ke boli?" for "What do you want?" (358). Robert Guiscard called wooden shoes "patitos" (358). Occasionally Salimbene quotes a proverb or an expression in dialect and explains it for the benefit of his niece.⁵³

In all his reporting the friar seeks to be truthful, and yet he is not prepared to guarantee the accuracy of all his remarks. At times he hides behind the statement, "As we have

⁵²I.e., "Je buis a vous."

⁵³As on pp. 165 or 220.

heard, so have we written" (537). But the fact that he does occasionally shield himself thus proves that he is sensitive to error, and tends to make his record more valuable as a source of information.⁵⁴

The chronicler was a naive soul. His high claims for his own character and ability are not an evidence of pride. Instead, they seem to him to be perfectly obvious statements of fact. He regards himself as an authority on certain subjects, as, for example, on the "affairs of Frederick" (205) about which many were asking him (206). He fortifies his position, when engaged in debate, through the use of Scripture, "since I am very learned in the Bible" (618). He writes unblushingly that the bishop of Mantua praised him as a "man of counsel" and intelligence (435), and that a friend described him as a person always ready with a suitable reply (422). This naivete is rarely offensive, and is often refreshing.

The friar has been called a "delightful gossip."⁵⁵ Unquestionably some of his sentences do contain choice morsels of rumor that would warm the heart and fire the imagination of a

⁵⁴G. G. Coulton, in a brochure entitled Guelf and Ghibelline (London, 1905), p. 1, says of our author, "Picturesque as he is, he is extremely accurate for a medieval writer: on every point of real importance he is abundantly corroborated by the soberest contemporary records." The British scholar had in mind the available monastic annals and other documents of the day.

⁵⁵See V. D. Scudder, The Franciscan Adventure (London, 1931), p. 82.

gossip-monger. The details of Opizo's misdeeds (168), a woman's estimate of the importance and value of the train of her dress (169), the description of the beauty and tragic death of the lovely Aica (172), the record of the capture of twenty-seven cats and the sale of their fur (191),--all this may be termed "gossip." But usually the chronicler is "chatty" rather than gossipy. Sometimes he is precise in his descriptions. But again he is delightfully vague and informal, as when he writes that he cannot recall the name of a certain little town (187), or that he once knew the names of some hermits from Britain, but that the names have now escaped his memory (329).

Those who have studied the Chronicle carefully seem to agree that it is a sine qua non to the historian.⁵⁶ But the question

⁵⁶L. Clédât, writing in 1878, expresses keen regret that up to that date Salimbene was little known. He asserts, "Nemo unquam meliora de historia pronuntiavit," and, ". . . maxima arte narravit, hominesque, quorum acta referebat, mire depinxit." De Fratре Salimbene et de eius Chronicæ Auctoritate (Paris, 1878), pp. 7, 41; he admits that the Chronicle has vices as well as virtues, but feels that the latter outweigh the former. He writes, ". . . plebi sermonis vitia simul, virtutes referat: vitia, cum saepe 'inornata et dominantia,' ut ait Horatius, immo etiam, cruda nonnumquam et sordida verba adhibeat; virtutes autem, magnam scilicet imaginum translationumque copiam, quasi e vivo fonte scaturientem, et rebus colorem vitamque, si fas dicere, admoventem, nativam praesertim simplicitatem et naturalem quemdam cursum, eo pluris in auctore nostro ducendum, quod est quasi ingenuitatis et veritatis nota chronicae impressa." Ibid., p. 58. Prof. Höfler feels that the Chronicle is a splendid source of information. He regards Salimbene as a "lover of the truth." "Über den Wert und den Inhalt der grossen handschriftlichen Chronik Salimbene d' Adami's von Parma" in Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1842, cols. 673 and 696. F. Bernini, translator of the Chronicle into Italian, calls it the "greatest religious and political chronicle of the thirteenth century". After his years of labor in connection with the book he writes: "Certainly in the Salimbene Chronicle there is material for profitable work for many people for many years." "Salembeniana Bibliografia" in Studi Francescani, 1932, 85.

arises whether one can discover in the volume anything in the nature of a synthesis of the thirteenth century. The book describes a multitude of disparate matters. These subjects are held together somewhat loosely by the thread of the narrative. Is the Chronicle, after all, a mere catalogue of personalities and events, interesting and informative, but consisting of fundamentally unrelated themes? Or is there, even in the midst of the disunity, a basic oneness, a Weltanschauung against which the individual portions of the work may be seen in true perspective? Is there some mountain peak, spiritual or psychological, from which the author views the changing panorama below? In all the diversity may one detect a unity? These are important questions. In the chapters which follow it may be possible to find their answer.

But if one is to engage in serious study of the Chronicle he should know the problem of textual criticism involved, the manner in which the book has been transmitted from century to century, what editions of the work are available today, and the degree to which the original manuscript has been preserved.

Bernini may be regarded as an authority on the transmission of the Chronicle. An Italian, he had access to the best information on the subject. His translation of the book was printed in 1926 in Italy,⁵⁷ and in 1932 he prepared for the periodical

⁵⁷F. Bernini, La bizzarra Cronaca di frate Salimbene (Lanciano, 1926).

Studi Francescani a brief article⁵⁸ in which he traced the vicissitudes of the valuable Franciscan document.⁵⁹

For several centuries, he tells us, the Chronicle was like the fabulous sphinx. It was commonly reported to be in existence, but no one seemed to be able to locate it. As early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were references to it. But only at the beginning of the eighteenth century did people begin to take it seriously.

Muratori, in the ninth volume of his Scriptores Rerum Italicarum,⁶⁰ investigated the problem and ended with a sigh, "That poor Chronicle is either lost or has fallen into the clutches of someone who is hiding it." Affò, writing in the last decade of the eighteenth century, refers to two scholars who had actually seen the book. He continues,

When Francesco Pegna was writing the comments on the Directorium Inquisitorium dell' 'Eimerico, the Chronicle was in the keeping of Cardinal Jacopo Savello, from whom later Monsignor Paolo Sanvitale received it as a gift. In the library of Sanvitale (later bishop of Spoleto), Angeli, author of the History of Parma, saw it. Muratori looked for it in vain; but it was later discovered in the library of the deceased Cardinal Conti in Rome, where I had

⁵⁸1932, 80-85.

⁵⁹What follows in this chapter is based largely upon the article. Bernini has rendered a genuine service to historical research, both through his edition of the Chronicle and through this illuminating article. It has been impossible to consult Bernini's edition at first hand. Similarly in the case of the writings of I. Affò, A. Pezzana, and C. Cantarelli, referred to in footnotes 64, 62, and 64.

⁶⁰Published 1726, pp. 757-758.

access to it, through the aid of Giuseppe Reggi, then his librarian, and now prefect of the Vatican Library. I was permitted to make extracts from it at leisure in 1781. Now the Codex enriches the Vatican Library.⁶¹

In 1827 Pezzana, after mentioning the fact that some fragments of the Chronicle had been published, described the way in which the Codex reached the Vatican:

Savioli also wanted it to become public property. For this purpose he worked with Marini. The latter asked Reggi for a copy of it. Reggi was then at the head of the library of Casa Conti, where the Chronicle had lain for so long unknown. He negotiated at length with Marini, so that the Codex was sold to the Vatican for a few scudi.⁶²

After this transaction some copies of the book were made, but they lay unknown for almost fifty years. A period of indifference with respect to the Chronicle seemed to have set in. Only in 1857 did the first edition appear, that of Parma,⁶³ seriously mutilated and incorrect. In its Preface the publisher, A. Bertani, tells the story of the Codex.

It appears that the duke of Sermoneta had the idea of publishing a continuation of the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum. He

⁶¹I. Affò, Memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani (Parma, 1789), I, 208f.

⁶²A. Pezzana, Continuazione delle memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani (1827), VI, II, 56-58.

⁶³Chronica fr. Salimbene Parmensis Ordinis Minorum ex codice Bibliothecae Vaticanae nunc primum edita, in "Monumenta historica ad provincias Parmensem et Placentinam pertinentia" (Parma, 1857).

turned to the learned scholar Gaetano Marini for suggestions, and for transcriptions of valuable historical codices in the Vatican which might form a part of the new collection. Marini gladly complied with his request and began to have the Chronicle of Salimbene transcribed. When it was completed he turned it over to the distinguished historiophilist. The Napoleonic wars and the confusion attending them prevented the duke from carrying out his design. When he died his valuable library was sold at public auction, and with it the copy of the Salimbene Chronicle. Fortunately the purchaser was a man devoted to the improvement of historical studies. He presented a copy of the work to Pezzana, who placed it as a national memorial in the Parma Library. This copy of the book, together with some extracts from Affo, served as the basis of the 1857 Parma edition.

The publication of this edition was followed slowly by some notable studies of the Chronicle, and in particular by the translation of Cantarelli,⁶⁴ who, writes Bernini, "added on his own account errors to a text already so erroneous". But the most serious work on the volume began, about 1880, outside of Italy. Scholars such as Gebhard, Michael, Clédat, and Novati, contributed greatly to the historical and linguistic investigations. Michael and Clédat maintained,⁶⁵ as ever against Novati,

⁶⁴C. Cantarelli, Cronaca di frate Salimbene parmigiano (Parma, 1882).

⁶⁵Holder-Egger shared their opinion. He wrote, ". . . der ganze Codex von Anfang bis zur Ende von des Autors eigener Hand geschrieben ist." "Reise nach Rom 1884," in Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, X, 222.

that the Vatican Codex was the original work of the author. The question of sources was examined critically. Bernini regrets that the area of discussion was too limited. He complains:

It is a pity that the debate has been restricted, almost pitifully . . . to some very minute even though interesting points, e.g. . . . to three verses in the dialect of Auxerre in praise of wine. As if hundreds of other passages did not deserve equal investigation.

More diligently and effectively, however, than any other, Oswald Holder-Egger, of Germany, studied the Salimbene Chronicle. For more than twenty years (1884-1908) he was at work on a great critical edition, which he did not live to see published, in 1913, but which came out under the editorial supervision of B. Schmeidler. It is this widely accepted edition, now a part of the series Monumenta Germaniae Historica (vol. XXXII), which forms the basis of our study.⁶⁶

The Chronicle as we have it today is by no means complete. The first 807 folios are missing, thirteen others have been lost from the body of the work, and the end has been destroyed.⁶⁷

⁶⁶The first World War postponed further important work on the Chronicle. Only in 1926 did two new translations appear, one by G. Pochettino, reproducing the old translation of Cantarelli; and the other by Bernini, based on the edition of Holder-Egger.

⁶⁷The Vatican Codex of the Chronicle, number 7260, consists of 272 folios. Prefixed to the document are seven other folios, on the second one of which the following words are written, "Cum Amplissimus Card. Iacobus Sabellius smi Dn. Papae Vicarius ac summus Inquisitor librum hunc Chronicorum F. Salimbeni de Adam Parmensis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum apud se haberet, illum Paulo Sanuitali utriusque Signaturae Referendario, sibi in maneribus publicis tam sanctissimae Inquisitionis, quam Vicariatus officiis, et intima familiaritate coniunctissimo Dono dedit Ill. Idus

The fragments which we now possess, although they contain occasional omissions⁶⁸ and erasures, are entirely adequate for the purposes of scholarship. They are the vehicle of a work of extreme interest and of utmost worth.

67 (continued)

Februarii Anni MDLXXXVII." The entire Codex is in the handwriting of Salimbene himself. There are many marginal notes, in the same hand, pertaining to the material of the text. In these notes the author often uses the first personal singular. The manuscript itself contains many revisions and additions, a few corrections, and an occasional deletion. Salimbene himself numbered the various sheets. He has illuminated rubrics and initial letters, apparently inserting these decorative devices after completing the sections in which they occur. Shortly after the friar's death the Chronicle underwent new additions and changes. Possibly the author of these variations was the same man who, in the fourteenth century, composed a two-column index for folios 331-426 of the document. This index is on one of the prefixed sheets (nr. 5). B. Schneidler's Praefatio to the Holder-Egger edition of the Chronicle, pp. xxvi-xxxi, contains a good description of the Codex.

⁶⁸Salimbene makes repeated references to the subject-matter contained in these lost folios. Cf. 56, 62, 213, 323, 367, etc.

Chapter II

FREDERICK II AND THE POLITICAL SCENE

In the year 1220 there came to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire a man whose many-sided personality and amazing achievements have astounded the world. He was Frederick II, ¹ mighty emperor of the House of Hohenstaufen, a man whom Salimbene regarded as the arch-enemy of the church. Much of the Chronicle describes the character and career of this ruler and his successors, the warfare for which they were largely

¹A comprehensive bibliography dealing with the life and times of Frederick is found in G. Ficker and H. Hermelink, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende (Tübingen, 1929), II, 130-134. For details of the emperor's character, administration, and conflict with the church, consult J. L. A. Huillard-Breholles, Historia diplomatice Friderici Secundi (Paris, 1859), VII; E. Lavissee et A. Rambaud, Histoire generale du IV e siecle à nos jours (Paris, 1893-1901), II, 188-233; K. Hampe, Kaiser Friedrich II in der Auffassung der Nachwelt (Stuttgart, 1925); E. O. Lorimer (trans.), Frederick the Second, 1194-1250, by E. Kantorowicz (New York, 1931); C. H. Haskins, Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science (Cambridge, 1924); A. Rambaud, "L'empereur Frederic II," in Revue des Deux Mondes, LXXXII (1897), 426-453; or P. Jaffé (ed.), Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII (Leipzig, 1885). See also MGH, Lectum Sectio IV, pt. II, 54-389.

responsible, and the ruin and destruction which spread like a scourge over northern Italy. A large part of the author's life was spent in the region in which the devastation was most severe. He witnessed at first-hand the part played in the struggle by the towns, some of which sympathized with the emperor, and others of which supported the church. He learned the names of Frederick's leaders, and their characteristics and accomplishments. In the course of his extended journeys through Italy and France, he met secular rulers of other countries, and also learned from his fellow Minors something of what was going on in other parts of the world.² Thus, although he viewed the political scene in Italy with some bias, there was in all his writing a measure of genuine understanding.

As soon as Frederick came to power he sought to develop a strong imperial absolutism, and to encourage learning throughout his realm. To evaluate rightly Salimbene's estimate of the monarch and his activities, one must bear in mind the manner in which the ruler sought to carry out these policies.

²The author has gathered little items of information concerning several foreign countries. He refers to the misfortune of Henry, King of the Danes, who was drowned at sea, and of his brother Abel, who was slain by the Frisians (444); to the Sultan of Babylonia, who laid Armenia waste and captured Antioch (477); to the strange plant and animal life of Egypt (314); to the sternness of Henry III, father of Edward, King of England (305); to the treachery through which Paleologus became emperor of the Greeks (306); to the queer customs of the Tartars (207), and their successful invasion of Hungary (580); to the defeat of the Hungarians by Bohemia (466); and to the victory of the Christians over the Saracens of Spain in 1266 (474). But such references rarely form an integral part of the narrative.

From 1221-1226 he fought against the Baraceni in Sicily, overcame them, and transported many of them to the city of Lucera on the mainland, which was rebuilt and made resplendent. Thenceforth throughout his stormy career Frederick was to have a host of Arabs in his army. He put down all feudal revolts among his nobles, and issued laws for Sicily and Naples abolishing the feudal state in favor of imperial autocracy. He destroyed castles, forbade private wars, limited the jurisdiction of church courts, and, in general, sought to establish his own complete supremacy.

Under the imperial regime art and education flourished. The culture of Frederick's Sicilian kingdom was brilliant, for the emperor rifled Ravenna on behalf of his palace at Palermo, and collected a magnificent assortment of jewels, plate, furniture, and manuscripts. There were few scholars in his dominion when he mounted the throne, but through the use of liberal rewards he attracted intellectual leaders from various parts of the earth.³ Himself a poet⁴ and scientist, he surrounded himself with men

³In 1224 Frederick founded the University of Naples. All the faculties were represented in the University. He revived the Salerno Medical School, and decreed that before one could practice medicine in the kingdom, he must have a license from the Salerno doctors. See H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, as edited by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), II, 21-27; C. H. Haskins, The Rise of Universities (New York, 1923), pp. 18-57; or S. d'Irsay, Histoire des Universités (Paris, 1933), I, 134ff.

⁴The ruler's literary achievements were of some consequence. Haskins calls him the "scholar-emperor". See C. H. Haskins, Studies in Mediaeval Culture (Oxford, 1929), p. 108. The emperor's poetic works encouraged the spread of vernacular literature in Italy. They gave currency to the Sicilian dialect,

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of genius.⁵ The monarch was skeptical of things religious; but he was profoundly interested in making experiments, and was persistently and painstakingly in search of facts.⁶

It is not surprising that his relations with the church were unhappy. There was intermittent hostility between papacy and empire throughout his reign. In the days of Pope Honorius III, the emperor tried to adopt a policy of conciliation, but difficulties soon arose. To appreciate Salimbene's stern and oft-repeated denunciations of the ruler, one must understand the nature of these difficulties, and the subsequent history of the church-empire dispute during the administration of the

⁴ (continued)

which became popular for almost a century. One of Frederick's chief writings was his treatise on falconry, De arte venandi cum avibus.

⁵Among the notable men in the imperial court were such authors and scholars as Michael the Scot, Theodore of Antioch, Piero della Vigna, judge of the papal curia, and Adam, Chanter of Cremona. The intellectual brilliance of Frederick's court is described in J. E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (Cambridge, 1903-18), I, 565ff. See the excellent bibliography in W. H. Heupel, Der sizilische Grosshof unter Kaiser Friedrich II (Leipzig, 1940), pp. vii-xi.

⁶He sent out questionnaires, for example, to learned scholars, asking them questions about eternity and the immortality of the soul, about the end and the foundations of theology, about the number and the nature of the categories, and about geometrical and astronomical problems. He tested the incubation of ostrich eggs by the sun's heat, and studied the artificial incubation of hen's eggs. He seemed to have a restless, inquisitive mind.

head-strong prince.⁷

As emperor-elect Frederick had promised to invest his son Henry with his Italian Kingdom and to infeudate the area to the papacy. Instead in April, 1220, Henry was elected king of the Romans, i.e., as successor in the empire. This was an act of defiance against the pope. In November of the same year, after having made more promises, Frederick was crowned emperor, and the pope allowed him to keep Sicily with an administration separate from that of the empire. In return Frederick took the Cross, made more concessions to the church, annulled laws hostile to the clergy, exempted the church from taxes, granted her immunity from lay jurisdiction, and promised to use his secular power against the heretics. But the emperor delayed his journey, and the crusaders across the sea lost Damietta to the Moslem hosts.⁸ The pope threatened Frederick with excommunication for his breach of promise, but in spite of this the monarch postponed his crusade until 1225.

⁷The rivalry between church and state had, of course, been keen long before Frederick mounted the throne. For an illuminating discussion of the background of the church-empire struggles see A. Luchaire, Innocent III (Paris, 1906), III (La Papauté et l'Empire). The author shows the rootage of the rivalry in the various medieval theories of political supremacy, and traces the struggle between the empire and the papacy through the years of Pope Innocent III (d. 1216). A detailed record of Innocent's official acts and correspondence is given in his Registrum and Epistolae, published in MPL, CCXIV-CCXVII.

⁸For discussion of the Crusades--their origin, inter-relationship, significance, and leading personalities--see Schnurer, op. cit., II, 289-328. This subject will be treated at greater length in chapter III of this dissertation.

As the months went by Frederick became more and more assertive. He instituted new laws against the clergy. In 1226 he called a Diet at Cremona, where he renewed the former imperial claims over Lombardy.⁹ At once the Lombard cities reestablished their League, and blocked the roads through the Alps. Frederick then banned the guilty cities and called upon one of his German bishops to place the area under an interdict. The pope declared the interdict invalid and prepared to renew the treaty between the papacy and the Lombard League. In March, 1227, Honorius III died.

A few months later Ugolino, cardinal bishop of Ostia, ascended the papal throne as Gregory IX, and in September of the same year Frederick embarked for the Holy Land. But, avowedly because of a pestilence of some kind, the ship returned to its point of departure. The pope was furious. He excommunicated the emperor, and placed under an interdict any place where the ruler might tarry. Mendicant friars went across the countryside seeking, but in vain, to turn away the emperor's subjects from their loyalty to him. In 1228 tumult broke out in the city of Rome and the pope fled to Viterbo.

The emperor seemed to have the unhappy faculty of exasperating the Holy See. Gregory IX forbade him, as one under excommunication, to undertake a crusade; but in 1228, Frederick took

⁹Frederick I, grandfather of the ruler, exercised wide powers over Lombardy. These powers were outlined at the Diet of Roncaglia in 1162. It was not until the battle of Legnano, in 1176, that the Barbarossa was finally defeated by the confederates of northern Italy and surrendered his authority entirely. Consult The Cambridge Medieval History (New York, 1936), V (Contest of Empire and Papacy), 446ff.

ship again for Palestine, only to have his excommunication renewed on the ground that he had left for the Holy Land without papal reconciliation. In 1229 the prince, arrived in the land of sacred memories, made a ten year truce with the Sultan of Egypt. By this truce Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Jerusalem were restored to the Christians, although the ancient site of Solomon's temple was allowed to remain in Moslem hands. Frederick then crowned himself king of Jerusalem, but the patriarch of the city, submissive to the papal desires, refused to hallow the coronation.

While the emperor was away, Gregory IX destroyed much of the monarch's South Italian territory. Returning to Italy, Frederick threatened the Patrimony of St. Peter. At San Germano a hollow truce was signed, in 1230, between papacy and empire, and Frederick, released from his excommunication, promised in return to recognize the papal rights in Sicily.

Salimbene was still young when these confusing events were taking place, but they made a strong impression upon him. He was an eye-witness of some of the hard-hitting monarch's activities. He writes concerning the emperor, "I saw him and for some time I loved him," and he records many interesting details of the ruler's life. He asserts that Frederick was born in the little town of Iesi (42), and traces the ruler's predecessors back to the eleventh century, to the days of Hildebrand, who gave Sicily and Apulia to Robert Guiscard in fief, on condition that he free the lands from the Greeks and Saracens (354). He narrates a rumor (42) that the emperor was really the son of a butcher. Queen

Constance, wife of Henry VI, took him from his home and proclaimed that he was her own natural son. Three things make the chronicler believe this rumor: the women of his day were often guilty of such prevarications; King John of Jerusalem once called Frederick the "son of a butcher," when the latter slew a rival, and Frederick was not able to deny the allegation; and the prophet Merlin had foretold the emperor's miraculous birth.

Salimbene's faith in the predictions relating to Frederick was profound. Like many of his contemporaries he was greatly impressed by the writings of Merlin¹⁰ who, at least a century earlier, had been specific in his predictions concerning the emperor. The seer had foretold that the ruler would marry three times; like a roaring lion, trusting his own wisdom, he would de-populate the city of Rome; he would journey to the city of Jerusalem; he would reign for thirty-two years, and live to the age of seventy-two, only to see his own flesh and blood rise up against him.

The chronicler provides important information concerning the emperor's early career. He writes that Pope Innocent III befriended Frederick (19). The pontiff consecrated Otto

¹⁰Information on this strange and influential prophet is found, for example, in T. Heywood, The Life of Merlin, Surnamed Ambrosius: His Prophecies, and Predictions Interpreted; and their Truth made good by our English Annals (London, 1641). The chronicler quotes Merlin's predictions (359): "Secundus autem Fridericus insperati et mirabilis ortus ... Erit leo rugiens inter suos. Multum confidet in prudentia sua. Disperget filios Ceylan. ..."

emperor,¹¹ but later deposed him "on account of his wickedness and pride," and Frederick then became emperor, the "favourite son" of the church. In 1212 the young prince was formally elected to his high office by the rulers of Germany, and soon commenced his triumphal journey to Mainz, where he was crowned. En route he received the homage of the citizenry of Rome, Genoa, Mantua, and Verona (28). One of his first official acts was to hold high court at Ratisbon, where the king of Bohemia and other leaders pledged their allegiance to him. In 1220 Pope Honorius III crowned him in St. Peter's Church in Rome (33).

Our author had been an admirer of the emperor. He describes him as a handsome, well-built man, of medium stature and of pleasing personality (348f.). The prince knew how to read and write, and how to sing and to compose songs. He was extremely clever, but he was also perverse and stubborn. "If he had been a good Catholic," Salimbene avows, "and had loved God, the church, and his own soul, he would have had few equals in power among the princes of the world." But all his good qualities were of no avail because he persecuted the church. Ungrateful ruler, he opposed the papacy with his whole soul (191). Greedy, malicious, wrathful, he failed to recognize the benefits

¹¹The decision of Innocent III in regard to the election of Otto of Brunswick is found in Huillard-Breholles, *op. cit.*, I, 70-76. A portion of the text is translated in O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, A Source Book for Mediaeval History (New York, 1906), pp. 220-226.

the church had conferred upon him (187).¹²

A large portion of the Chronicle deals with the emperor's wars in Italy. By 1232 the Lombard League was a force to be reckoned with, and Frederick's rebellious son Henry, king of the Germans, made an alliance with the confederation against his father. The army of the emperor took Henry prisoner, and in 1236 Frederick himself marched into Lombardy with his troops, determined to crush all resistance.

Salimbene describes the sensation which the ruler's animals created as they passed through Parma (92).¹³ He writes that upon the emperor's elephant there was a wooden tower with four corners, each corner adorned with a flag. In the midst of the tower was the imperial standard, near which the leader of the animals rode with several Saracens. When the monarch reached Lombardy, he destroyed Macharia, then rebuilt the city, and appointed Cremonese as its guards (93). He besieged Mantua, devastated Vicenza and other towns, took prisoners, and laid waste the countryside (94). On November 27, 1237, the army of the League was defeated at the battle of Cortenuova, and by this time the emperor controlled almost all of Lombardy and the March

¹²The author's picturesque description of the emperor states that he was "pestifer et maledictus, scismaticus, hereticus et epycurus, corrupens universam terram, quia in civitatibus Ytalie semen divisionis et discordie seminavit, quod usque hodie durat" (31).

¹³One of the most delightful interludes in the book is the author's description of Frederick's elephant. He takes this animal as his text and gives his readers a sermonette on the subject of pachyderms (94). In the Book of Maccabees (I Mac. 6:37)

of Treviso. He sent the captured Milanese carroccio to Rome, thinking to win over the Romans by this exhibition of power; but the citizens of the capital burned the vehicle (95). Only a few cities now held out against the monarch. The Guelfic strongholds of Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Bologna, and a few others, were still rebellious. In 1238 Frederick tried in vain to subdue Brescia (96). His allies were from many Italian cities and of several different races.¹⁴ But the Brescians fought skilfully and stubbornly. Frightful cruelties were perpetrated on both sides, and at length the emperor retired in confusion. The following year Pope Gregory IX came out openly in favor of the Lombard League and for the second time excommunicated the emperor. This was added fuel to the fires of war. Frederick now turned aside from Lombardy to attack the papal territory. The chronicler describes the fall of Ravenna (166) and of Faenza (174). Rome itself was soon in danger, and Gregory hastily summoned a Council, in 1241, to emphasize the seriousness of the situation, and to request his prelates to unite with him in his

13 (continued)

he states, it is recorded that Antiochus attacked the Jews with the aid of thirty-two elephants, and Alexander the Great is alleged to have used a hundred of the animals. Ethiopia is the habitat of many of the amazing jungle beasts. And had not Brother Bartholomew described at length the nature and peculiarities of the animals in his voluminous book? See R. R. Steele (ed.), Bartholomew Anglicus, Medieval Lore (London, 1907), pp. 152-155.

¹⁴In his army there were, in addition to the North Italians, Saracens, Germans, and Apulians.

condemnation of the ruler. A Genoese fleet, bearing churchmen from North Italy, France, and Spain, was set upon by imperial ships and captured (336), and many prisoners were taken to Naples, where they were grossly mistreated. Frederick's triumph seemed to be complete, when, on August 21 Gregory died. Celestine IV lived for only a few weeks, and then the papacy was vacant until June, 1243, when Innocent IV became pope. In the following year the pontiff fled to Lyons, where a General Council assembled (June, 1245), which formally deposed Frederick, and offered spiritual benefits to those who would arm to help carry out its decrees (177).¹⁵

Salimbene is sure that Old Testament prophecies were fulfilled in the ruler's deposition. He quotes from Proverbs XVII (187), from Deuteronomy XVII (441), from Ecclesiastes VIII (90), from Ezekiel XVIII (90), and from many other passages to prove this point. The writings of the New Testament, too, rendered the emperor's downfall inevitable. Had not Luke written (XI:50) that the blood of the prophets would be required of an ungodly generation? And had not Paul insisted (II Timothy 2:5) that one is not properly and permanently crowned "except he strive lawfully"?

¹⁵The decree of excommunication against Frederick II, 1239, is found in Huillard-Breholles, *op. cit.*, I, 286f. See also Thatcher and McNeal, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-256. The monarch's deposition by the council of Lyons is recorded in J. D. Mansi (ed.), Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio (Paris, 1903-27), XXIII, cols. 613-619; and in C. J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux (Paris, 1913), V, 1633-1679.

After his deposition, the chronicler continues, Frederick was like a bird with clipped wings (192). Yet the emperor became more vicious and obdurate than ever. He asked help of the Catharists¹⁶ against the church. He sent out a Manifesto to all Christian princes, in which he declared that the best means of ecclesiastical reform was for the church to be incorporated within the state; and he condemned as traitors all who would refuse to accept his lordship over the church. He went even beyond all this. He declared himself worthy of worship as a "lay pope," the vicar of Christ, an "emanation of divinity," and he compared Jesi, his birthplace, with Bethlehem. His blasphemy knew no bounds.¹⁷

The Guelf-Ghibelline struggle now became furious. But the winds of fortune changed their direction when Parma, Salimbene's beloved city, revolted against the monarch. The author is thrilled as he recalls the fact that it was the town of his birth that led in the revolutionary movement. Frederick blockaded the city, which was threatened with famine, and built over against

¹⁶This dualistic religious sect was related to ancient Manicheanism. It appeared in western Europe in the eleventh century, and constituted a genuine menace to the church. See H. J. Warner, The Albigensian Heresy (London, 1928), vols. I and II; F. W. Bussell, Religious Thought and Heresy in the Middle Ages (London, 1918); and, for a concise discussion and bibliography, Ficker and Hermelink, op. cit., pp. 121, 122.

¹⁷It was commonly rumored in Salimbene's day that Frederick was an unbeliever. His enemies accused him of questioning the Catholic faith, of insisting that Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed were three imposters, and of attacking the doctrine of the Eucharist. For such accusations see Matthew of Paris, Chronica Majora (Rolls Series, No. LVII, London, 1872-84), III, 520f., 527; IV, 474, 634f.; V, 99f.

it the city of Victoria.

But this was the beginning of Frederick's collapse. Salimbene often refers to Parma's rebellion. He writes that when the emperor, deposed by the church, was waiting at Turin to go to Lyons after the pope and cardinals for the purpose of imprisoning them, Parma, "my city," fell to the side of the church (196). This was on June 16, 1247. When Frederick besieged the city Salimbene left his home for Lyons. The siege was long and cruel. The author describes the inhabitants' prayers to the Virgin for deliverance (196), the hardening of Frederick's heart, and the hanging or drowning of those he suspected of treachery. But at length the knights of Parma, ousted at the commencement of the war, rallied to the support of their city and marched against the forces of the emperor. On their way to battle they were encouraged by fiery sermons (188). Gerardus de Arcilli, for instance, cried out, "Habeamus audaciam et sumus parati aut vivere aut mori fortiter, et nullus retrocedat aut pavore formidet. Dominus enim in fortibus dimicabit et auxilium suum vobis de celo impendet." The conflict was joined, Parma fell to the church, and the emperor was driven out of Victoria (203), which was thoroughly destroyed, as the Parmesans liberated their compatriots imprisoned in the city and captured much loot. Some local patriot found the imperial crown, which the city of Parma later bought from him for two hundred imperial pounds and a little house! Salimbene boasts that he once held the crown in his own hands (203).

The friar is sure that the emperor's defeat at Parma was

predestined, for in the book of Daniel (ch. XI) the fate of the enemy of righteousness is declared (205). But he lists other reasons for the fall of the city (189): the emperor's son Enzo was away at the time, besieging a castle in Brescia; the monarch himself was in Turin, en route to Lyons, to capture the papal curia, unaware that certain passages in Job (ch. V) made it clear that he could never actually perform such a dastardly deed; the defenders of Parma were enjoying a marriage-feast and were drunk and incompetent; the city was open on all four sides; the invaders solemnly "crossed themselves" and promised no harm; the inhabitants of the city did not interfere; many leaders of the defense fled, to protect their personal property elsewhere; and the German troops, when the podesta had been slain, invited the invaders to enter the city calmly.

When Parma was lost to him, the emperor was once more like a bird robbed of its feathers. He lost all strength, and could no longer fly until the feathers grew in again (192). Did not the story of Samson give warning here? Salimbene thinks so.

Almost the entire battle area was ruined. Suspicion, thievery, mutual recrimination, jealousy, vacillation--all these abounded. There were robbers on the highways; and it was unsafe to go on long trips, for wild animals emerged from their lairs, and wolves assembled around the graves of the dead. The boldness of these beasts increased rapidly. They actually entered cities, broke into the walls of houses, and snatched tender infants from their cradles (190f.).

In all this confusion Frederick proved himself to be

extremely cruel, and as subtle as a dragon (438). He had a girl hostage, Aica, thrown into a red-hot oven. A Minor heard the beautiful captive's last confession, "and so her soul entered heaven" (171). The ruler forced the patriarch of Aquileia to serve him the mass even though he was under excommunication (592). He tempted his enemies with false promises (390), and scattered his representatives throughout the cities of Italy to defend the empire and to confound the church. He even murdered some of his own advisers, princes, and barons, in order to secure their goods and lands for himself and his sons (201). One of his notaries had his thumb chopped off by imperial command because the unfortunate scribe wrote his master's name with an "i", i.e. "Fridericus," instead of with an "e".

The emperor was a man of striking contrasts. His inordinate political ambition was matched by a genuinely scientific mode of thought. Salimbene is intrigued by what he calls Frederick's "superstitions" (350f.). He describes some of these imperial vagaries.

The inquisitive ruler once selected several babies, and instructed their nurses never to talk to them. He was interested to learn what language the infants would use when they grew up under this law of silence, whether they would speak Hebrew, or Greek, or Latin, or Arabic, or the language of their parents. The experiment, however, proved to be a failure, for the little ones died at an early age, unable to exist without the comfort of the spoken word! On another occasion the emperor had his famous diver Nicholas survey the bottom of one of Italy's deep

harbors. He threw a golden goblet into the water and ordered the swimmer to retrieve it. Nicholas complied with the request, to the astonishment of his master; but on a subsequent visit to the depths of the sea he failed to return to the surface. Salimbene is not certain what caused him to drown: it might have been the rough weather, or some sort of a fish, or the shelving rocks, or the wreckage of a ship.

Frederick often used men as experimental "guinea-pigs." Once he locked up a living man in a wine vat until his subject died, and thus he "proved" that the soul as well as the body is destroyed at death. On another occasion he fed two men royally, and then sent one to bed and the other out to hunt. The next evening he had the obedient souls' stomachs removed and examined. His physician reported that the sleeper had digested his meal better than the hunter had his! An amusing example of the ruler's experimental method is an interview he had with his astrologer, Michael the Scot. Standing with Michael on the palace floor, he asked the scholar how far it was to the heavens. The astrologer computed the distance and reported his findings. Then the emperor sent his learned friend away on a vacation, and during his absence the tricky monarch had the level of the palace floor lowered. When Michael returned, Frederick took him once more to the spot and casually asked him to repeat his estimate of the distance from the floor level to the heavens. Michael measured for a second time, and reported that one of two things had happened: either the heavens had receded, or else the floor had been lowered. By this display of sagacity

the astrologer ingratiated himself with his sovereign (353).

Salimbene summarizes the reasons for Frederick's ultimate downfall. The ruthless monarch had many "misfortunes" (341f.). "Fridericus secundus imperator condem, quamvis magnus et dives et potens fuerit imperator, tamen multa habuit infortunia. . . ." The first of these related to his eldest son Henry, whose sad fate the friar describes at length. The rebellious young man, who would some day have succeeded Frederick as emperor, was captured by the church party and detained in prison. One day, when the prisoner was being transferred from one castle to another, he rushed over a precipice and perished miserably. Friar Lucas of Apulia preached his funeral sermon. The Minor's theme was "The Price of Righteousness," and the emperor, far from being angry at the preacher, actually wanted a copy of his sermon.

A second imperial "misfortune" was that the Lombards proved too tricky for their royal enemy. Further, Pope Innocent IV deposed him in full council, and publicised his misdeeds. It was impossible, Salimbene writes, that Frederick should have succeeded in his struggle with the church. For in Zechariah (ch. II) it is written that the church is the pupil of God's eye. Instead of triumphing over the papacy, the emperor yielded his dominion to another, to the Landgrave of Thuringia. The revolt of his princes and barons, the capture of his son Enzo by the Bolognese, his excommunication by Pope Gregory--all this, the chronicler feels, was deserved retribution. The church was right in punishing Frederick, for the wicked monarch tried to force the pope, the cardinals, and other prelates, to their

knees. And, in addition, he made a base treaty with the Saracens while on his crusade, allowing the name of Mohammed to be called out in the temple of the Lord.

The emperor, Salimbene informs his readers, died in the little Apulian town of Fiorentino, ten miles from Lucera, on the anniversary of his coronation. His body could not be transferred to Palermo, where the kings of Sicily were normally buried, for he had died of a loathesome disease, and intolerable odors issued from his putrefying corpse (346f.). He was deprived of burial in the royal sepulchres; the Old Testament Scriptures had prophesied such deprivation in their account of the fall of Lucifer from heaven (Isaiah XIV). And Salimbene adduces an additional reason for the monarch's lack of decent burial: his son Manfred wanted to conceal his father's death, hoping to take possession of the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia before his brother Conrad could reach him from Germany. As the result, many people believed that Frederick was not really dead. Some thought that he lived on in the person of a wise old hermit, who cooperated, for the sake of riches and fame, with the nobles who needed him for their deceitful purposes. The chronicler himself shared the skepticism of his compatriots with respect to the emperor's death "until I heard Innocent IV preach it" (174). With Frederick's decease "many evils flew out of the world." The Sibyl had predicted the end of the empire at the sovereign's demise, and the chronicler is sure that the prophecy was fulfilled.

The dark shadow of Frederick falls on many pages of the

Chronicle. Unquestionably Salimbene's intense hostility toward the ruler was due to his unwavering opposition to the church. As though to bring the emperor's shortcomings into sharp relief, the friar describes another royal personality, a man devoted to the church and her interests, a sovereign who seemed to be as different from Frederick as night is from day. This personality was Louis IX, sainted King of France. If Frederick was deceitful, proud, and cruel, this monarch, Salimbene thinks, was the very incarnation of integrity, humility, and justice. The chronicler is a strong admirer of the French king, and presents him as a foil over against the wicked emperor.¹⁸

When the author was attending the provincial chapter at Sens, in 1247, he met St. Louis, who was about to embark on his crusade against the Moslems. He writes that the prince was gracefully built, rather slender and tall, with the countenance of an angel (222).¹⁹ The sovereign was passing through the city, clothed, not in regal pomp and splendor, but with a pilgrim's

¹⁸The Chronicle of Jean, Sire de Joinville, who accompanied Louis IX in his Crusade from 1248-1254, surrounds the sainted monarch with a halo of strength and virtue. See especially the First Book of the Chronicle, which describes the principal virtues of the King. This is available in G. de Villehardouin and Jean, Sire de Joinville, Memoirs of the Crusades (London, 1933), pp. 139-152. Salimbene is more realistic, and less romantic, than Joinville in his description of the sovereign. See also Joinville, Histoire de Saint Louis, Credo, et Lettre a Louis X (Paris, 1874).

¹⁹"... erat autem rex subtilis et gracilis, macilentus convenienter et longus, habens vultum angelicum et faciem gratiosam."

neckerchief decorating his shoulders. He was on foot, attended by his three brothers, who followed him with great dignity and humility.

Louis was an unforgettable character. Writing almost forty years later, Salimbene remembers vividly those days at Sens, and later at Vezelay, where the ruler exhibited such remarkable gentleness and courtliness and sympathy with the Minors. It was clear that the king was more concerned with the prayers and voices of the poor than he was with his noble following.

Louis' arrival in Sens created quite a stir among the friars. He himself was a tertiary, and all the brethren were eager to honor him. Brother Rigaldus, archbishop of Rheims, rushed out belatedly to join the crowd, followed by Salimbene. The prelate must have presented quite a figure, clothed as he was in all his regalia, with mitre on head and pastoral staff in hand, and crying out lustily, "Where is the king?"²⁰

When the monarch arrived, he at once entered the Minors' church and bowed reverently before the altar in prayer. Salimbene was next to him as he left the sanctuary. When the royal company was assembled in the chapter house, the king commended himself, his family, and his following to the prayers of the

²⁰The author records his surprise at the lack of French women in the welcoming crowd. Although the original Romans of Gaul were mighty when they plundered Rome, now most of their women seemed to be servant girls. If the King of France should pass through Pisa or Bologna, he claims, all the flower of Italian womanhood would be on hand to welcome him. But then Salimbene recalls that in France, after all, the knights and nobles lived in villas; only burghers resided in the cities.

brethren. It was a touching sight, and several French Minors who were near the chronicler began to weep. Then followed a series of speeches, one by Cardinal Oddo, previously chancellor of Paris, and now about to accompany King Louis on his crusade, and another by John of Parma. The minister-general referred to the ruler as the "foremost benefactor and defender of the order," and instructed each priest to celebrate four masses on behalf of the king and his retinue: one mass of the Holy Spirit, one of the Cross, the third of the blessed Virgin, and the fourth of the Trinity (223). When the solemn assembly had adjourned, the king provided a banquet for the friars and ate informally with them. The aging chronicler even recalls the courses that were served at this feast, and is careful to note that King Louis defrayed all the expenses involved.

On the following day the prince continued upon his way. Salimbene, under orders from John of Parma to go to Provence to live, followed the monarch, and noticed that he paused frequently at the houses of the Religious to commend himself to their prayers.

Louis' conduct was altogether different, the chronicler realizes, from that of his Hohenstaufen contemporary. At Veselay the French king revealed his true humility in a manner which Frederick II would have disdained. Seated in the dust on the floor of the Minors' church, he called the friars to form a circle around him. And there, in intimate and lowly fashion, he opened his heart to the brethren and asked for their faithful intercession (225).

Whenever Salimbené mentions Louis, it is against the background of these personal recollections. He always portrays the ruler as friendly to the church and zealous in the cause of Christ. He records the fact that, when Pope Innocent IV deposed Frederick II, and when the troops of Parma destroyed the imperial city of Victoria, the emperor was enraged. The pontiff, who feared for his life, sent a legate to the king of France, and besought him to postpone his passage to the East until it was clear what God had in mind for Frederick (211). But the pope laboured in vain, for Louis was adamant in his determination to go at once to the rescue of the Holy Land. Furthermore, his crusaders were ready and money was on hand for the journey.²¹ The sainted king, therefore, sent word to Innocent to commit the case of Frederick to the judgment of God (212).

When Louis finally reached the shores of North Africa, he attacked and captured Damietta (320). But soon he was in difficulties. Thanks to the sins of the French, Salimbené feels, Robert, the eldest brother of the king, was slain. In 1250 the ruler himself was seized by the Saracens and the greater part of

²¹The economic involvements of the crusades, and the movement as a business enterprise, are discussed in J. W. Thompson, Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages (300-1300) (New York, 1928), pp. 390-435. A concise summary of the mixed motives underlying the crusades is ably presented in J. R. Strayer and D. C. Munro, The Middle Ages, 396-1500 (New York and London, 1942), pp. 219-235. Consult L. Brehier, L'église et l'orient au moyen âge, les Croisades (Paris, 1928); and D. C. Munro, The Kingdom of the Crusaders (New York, 1936). Commercial expansion played a prominent part in the enterprise. See L. J. Fautou (ed.), The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students (New York, 1928), pp. 139-182.

his army was put to death (333). Damietta was restored to the enemy, but the heroic king was freed and allowed to leave the country. Journeying toward the east, he eventually came to the Holy Land, where he engaged in an extensive building program.²² During this period he gave another demonstration of the sort of humility that made him almost a legendary character. He had divided his army into four parts in Palestine, and the Saracens, taking advantage of this division of forces, rushed upon a group of unarmed workers and butchered them all. The king, hearing about the tragedy, hastened to the scene, had a large ditch dug, and with his own hands helped in the burying of the victims, fearing not the labor nor the stench. The knights who were present, the author states, wondered at this exhibition of lowliness.

Louis' ill-fated expedition of 1270 and his death across the sea are described in some detail by our chronicler.²³ Undismayed by all the work involved, and accompanied by his two sons and by as many barons and church prelates as possible, the monarch set out on this holy crusade. At his advice, the decision was made to attack the Kingdom of Tunisia, en route to the Holy Land (483). Fortune smiled at first upon the brave

²²The chronicler writes that Louis built Caesarea Philippi ". . . et alias multas terras, faciens muros et domos et turres" (333).

²³The author depends largely upon the Liber de Temporibus (ch. 280) for his information on this subject.

adventurers, but soon a dread disease which, the chronicler writes, that year was prevalent around the borders of the sea, attacked the Christian hosts. The king's son Tristan was the first leader to succumb to the illness, but many counts and barons, and a multitude of common people, fell a prey to its ravages. Death stalked the crusaders' camp everywhere. And, worst of all, Louis himself became sick unto death. In his illness he did not cease to praise the name of God, and to pray for his people. When he neared the end, he gazed into heaven with the prayer upon his lips, "I shall enter thy house, I shall worship at thy temple, and trust in thy name, O Lord." And so, Salimbene writes, he slept in the Lord (483).

In 1271 Philip, King of France, was entertained in the palace of the lord bishop of Reggio. The ruler was returning from Africa with the embalmed body of his father, King Louis (484). When the corpse reached France, the author continues, the Lord performed many amazing miracles through it (485). Thirteen years later (in 1284), Master Holandus Taberna, bishop of Spoleto, was sent by Pope Martin IV to record the miracles of St. Louis, for the pontiff wanted to canonize him and enroll him in the catalogue of the saints. The bishop told Salimbene, and the friar accepted his word trustingly, that he had certified, through the testimony of competent witnesses, seventy-four miracles.

How different was Louis' end from that of the excommunicated, but defiant emperor! The passing of the French king

brought dismay to the hosts of Christendom, for Louis was a man greatly beloved. But when Frederick II died, the church heaved a sigh of relief and prepared to resist with new determination the hostile acts of his successors.

The death of the emperor brought rejoicing to multitudes of loyal churchmen. But the seeds of discord which he had planted in the soil of Italy brought forth a harvest of confusion in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Frederick left behind him a family which sought to carry out his nefarious schemes. The monarch's military and political leaders, too, remained, and through their efforts the Guelf-Ghibelline struggle continued with intermittent fury. Salimbene throws welcome light upon the character and career of Frederick's sons; and he singles out for detailed description some of the most ruthless of the imperial chieftains, whose persistence and ability kept Italy in a turmoil and brought on the debacle occasioned by the arrival of Charles of Anjou on the political scene.

Henry VII, King of Germany, was the first son of the emperor whom the chronicler mentions,²⁴ but Frederick had other boys, too. There was an illegitimate son named Frederick, whom the ruler made king in Tuscany. There was Charles, whom the emperor's English wife, Isabella, bore to him in Ravenna. But

²⁴The disloyalty and dishonorable death of Henry (87, 88) have already been noticed in this chapter.

Salimbene confesses that, of all Frederick's sons, the bastard Hencius (Enzio) was outstanding (471). The tragic life of this young prince is outlined in the pages of the Chronicle. The young man was a handsome, valiant warrior, and a most gracious composer of songs. His father married him to the heiress of a large part of Sardinia and established him as king of the island. Enzio, prompted by hatred for the church, expelled the bishop of Corsica from his diocese (316), and gradually extended his own authority over several cities on the mainland of Italy, including Reggio, Cremona, and Modena. One day, while leading forth his Modenese troops against the Bolognese, he was captured by the enemy (329). Twenty-four years old at the time of his seizure, he was imprisoned by the Bolognese until his death twenty-two years later. The chronicler relates an interesting anecdote about a sympathetic friar who noticed that Enzio's guards were not providing him with enough food. The Minor gambled with the soldiers, won the game, and thus compelled his opponents to have mercy on their prisoner (330).²⁵ When, in 1272, the unhappy prince died, he was embalmed by the Bolognese and buried with signal honor (486).

Frederick's successor to the throne was his son Conrad IV. The new emperor²⁶ remained in Germany for two years, and

²⁵The author adds that all who heard about this display of skill commended the brother for his charity, courtliness, and liberality.

²⁶Conrad's mother was Isabella, daughter of King John of Jerusalem (471).

appointed as his lieutenant in Sicily and Naples Manfred, another of Frederick's sons, born out of wedlock. In 1252 Conrad entered Italy and received, at least outwardly, a cordial welcome from his brother. He captured Naples and razed the walls of the city to the ground. But in 1254 he took ill and received medical treatment that brought on his death.²⁷ When his remains were being carried to Panormia for burial, and the cortege had arrived at Messina, the citizens of the latter city scattered his bones into the sea, prompted by hatred for his father and offended, too, by his own misdeeds (444).

Conradin, the infant son of Conrad, now inherited the throne. His uncle Manfred served as regent; and, having reconciled himself temporarily to the church, he conquered all of Sicily, made a firm alliance with Genoa and Venice, and, on the basis of an unfounded report of Conradin's death, allowed himself to be crowned emperor at Palermo (in 1268). For a time it seemed as though the empire were to be renewed in strength throughout Italy.

Salimbene lived in the very midst of this rapidly shifting scene. He writes that Manfred's mother was the niece of the Markgrave of Lancia (471), and that when the ruler deceitfully took the crown away from the child Conradin, the pope

²⁷An injection of poison was the immediate cause of his death, Salimbene thinks (205). It was commonly reported that Manfred was the instigator of the crime (472).

excommunicated him. In 1266 Charles of Anjou²⁸ invaded Manfred's dominions, assisted by an army composed of provençals, of Italian Guelphs, and of other troops, and with the papal blessing (of Clement IV) upon his venture. The historic battle of Grandella was fought northwest of the city of Benevento.

Salimbene describes the catastrophe which followed (471). Manfred was killed²⁹ along with three thousand of his knights and barons. He was buried near the Benevento bridge, his wife and two children were captured, and all the treasure which he had accumulated in the beautiful city of Manfredonia,³⁰ a place which he had constructed and named after himself, was plundered.

Charles of Anjou was crowned King of Sicily, but soon after a reaction set in against him in Apulia and Tuscany. Calabria, too, revolted against the foreign leader. In 1267 the young Conradin, grandson of Frederick II, was encouraged to return from Germany to Apulia to recover the land of his fathers from

²⁸Innocent IV, years before, had offered the Kingdom of Sicily to young Edmund of England. When the pontiff died, his successor, Alexander IV, had renewed the offer. But it was not until the French pope, Urban IV, invited Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, to assume control of Sicily, that Manfred really met his match. See The Cambridge Medieval History, VI, 116f., 172-204.

²⁹Manfred is described throughout the Chronicle as a man of perverse character. But Salimbene, wishing to be fair to the prince, admits that he had "aliquas bonitates quas in tractatu pape Gregorii decimi descripsi sufficienter."

³⁰The author is confident that, if Manfred had lived a few years longer, he would have made Manfredonia one of the loveliest cities in the world (471, 472).

the French invader. Crossing the Brenner Pass, he entered Verona with a large army of German soldiers.³¹ Thence he went to Pavia and on, via Pisa, to Rome (475), where he was solemnly welcomed after the imperial fashion (477). Accompanied by Henry, Senator of Rome and brother of the King of Castile, and by many Romans, he went out to war against Charles of Anjou. The battle of Tagliacozza was joined, there was a frightful slaughter, and Conradin and many of his officers were taken prisoner. Three months later King Charles had Conradin and the Roman senator taken to Naples, where they were beheaded (476).³²

The chronicler asserts repeatedly that one of the chief reasons for Frederick II's downfall was the fact that his nobles rebelled against him (e.g. 178). When the emperor embarked upon his ambitious venture in Italy, he relied heavily upon the more powerful Italian barons, as over against the cities and the lesser lords. The Chronicle abounds in references to the monarch's leaders. Fourteen of these are listed

³¹The chronicler describes the young prince as a man of learning who spoke Latin flawlessly (475).

³²Salimbene is not unmindful of the fact that during this turbulent period in Italy the empire itself was having its difficulties. He mentions the multiplied imperial elections in Germany, and the division among the electors which lasted for many years (454). He is aware that the Great Inter-regnum, which began in 1254, ended in 1273 with the election of Rodulfus as emperor (489). The history of the empire from A. D. 800 to this election is traced in J. W. Thompson, Feudal Germany (Chicago, 1928); in T. F. Tout, The Empire and the Papacy (London, 1899); or in J. Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire (New York, 1836), pp. 74ff.

by name in one passage of the book (438, 439), and the writer adds that there were many others scattered throughout the cities of Italy.³³ Some of these held the office of city podesta,³⁴ others were nobles or barons without further official position, and still others were officers in the imperial army.

The friar describes the fate meted out to a few of these leaders by the emperor,³⁵ who suspected them of treachery, or who was greedy for their lands. But he is really eloquent when he narrates the wicked deeds of men who were, in all probability, Frederick's most dependable tyrants. Four of these, in particular, stand out as utterly despicable characters.

Lord Guido of Sesso, imperial leader in Reggio, was one of these. Salimbene describes him as the worst enemy of the church

³³He adds ironically, ". . . Quorum historiam ponere multum dedignor, quia non videtur michi digna relatu."

³⁴The podesta was a magistrate who represented the imperial power, and who exercised both executive and judicial functions. Salimbene records the names of podestas in Reggio (174), Parma (75), Lucca (164), Ferrara (165), Milan (485), Bologna (501), Perugia (610), and elsewhere. The ruler was apparently "elected" to office (463), could be dismissed for remissness (531), and was charged with varied duties relating to the material (379) and political (463) welfare of the city. For further discussion of the office of podesta see W. F. Butler, The Lombard Communes: A History of the Republics of North Italy (London, 1906), pp. 111, 187-190.

³⁵Tebaldus Franciscus, who rebelled against the monarch, was blinded and miserably tortured; the emperor's "logothete," Petrus de Vineia, whom the ruler had once dearly loved, received no mercy from his sovereign (543).

(330), a man whom King Enzo had appointed as his representative in the city. On one occasion the king had captured many of the church party and had condemned them to the gallows. When the miserable victims wanted to confess to a priest, Guido forbade them to do so, saying sarcastically, "You have no need of confession, for you belong to the church party, and are therefore holy. You will go at once to Paradise." And they were hanged without confession. Guido despised the Minors as much as he did the church. Once he came to the Franciscan home in Reggio, called an assembly, and inquired of each friar his place of origin. He had his notary record all the names, and in each case he ordered the innocent friar to return to his native city. All the brethren were expelled, with the exception of a few who remained to look after the house.³⁶

Julianus of Sesso was even more malicious than Guido. An aged teacher of the law, he served as judge of Cremona, Reggio, and Modena. His cruelty knew no bounds. He had several citizens of Foliano hanged and many others slain, simply because they belonged to the church party. He gloried in his wicked treatment of these "robbers" (331), and often remarked that it was better to eat chalk than to make peace with adherents of the church. Salimbene almost rubs his hands with glee as he records the frightful death of these "tools of the devil."

³⁶Under Guido's rule the Minors and Preachers did not dare to enter Modena. They were basely slandered, and sometimes tortured and killed (330).

Guido perished when, while he was rushing headlong in flight before the armies of the church, his horse foundered in the privy-hole of the leprosarium of Modena. Julianus was smitten with paralysis.³⁷ When the forces of the church began to prosper, he fled from Reggio, and was finally excommunicated, dying without confession or communion, "going to the devil his father, whose imitator he had been all his life" (332).

The unspeakable cruelty of these men of Sesso was matched, and possibly surpassed, by the conduct of the two brothers of Romano,³⁸ Alberic and Eccelin. The chronicler stands aghast at the crimes these "demons" perpetrated.

Alberic of Romano, ruler of Treviso, was a blasphemer of the name of God, a despiser of holy things, and a merciless persecutor of his foes. "Hic vere membrum fuit diaboli et filius iniquitatis, sed mala morte perit . . ." Three scenes stand out in sharp relief in Salimbene's account of his infamy. The first is the hanging of twenty-five innocent leaders of Treviso. It was an appalling spectacle: the bodies of the dying men swinging from the gallows while their mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters, were compelled to watch their agony and

³⁷The chronicler describes with crude realism the ravages of Julianus' disease, the eye which fell from its socket and dangled below, and the accompanying stench (331).

³⁸Frederick II leaned heavily upon these men in the early days of his warfare in Italy. He felt that their very heartlessness would serve to intimidate, and thus to subjugate, their enemies.

share in their shame. The second scene is the public gathering in the square of St. Mark's in Venice, to which the women, half-naked, dishevelled, and altogether miserable, had at length come in disgrace. The Venetians were moved to pity by the plight of the unfortunate victims, and a crusade was proclaimed against the instigator of the crime. The decree went forth that whoever would enlist in the crusade, or outfit another warrior to go in his place, would have full remission of all his sins (366). These scenes are portrayed in full and intimate detail. But the chronicler outdoes himself when he comes to describing the third scene, that of Alberic's gruesome end. After a harsh and bitter rule (363), the tyrant, his wife, and his whole family were butchered. Their murderers pulled off the arms and legs of the sons while the boys were still living, and with the limbs they struck the parents in the mouth. Then they bound the mother and beautiful young marriageable daughters³⁹ to poles and burned them, and attacked Alberic with pincers, as each tore out a morsel from the quivering flesh, until death ended the torture.

In another part of the Mark of Treviso was Eccelin of Romano, whose rule extended over Padua, Vicentia, and Verona. He, too, was a "son of iniquity" (367). Everyone feared him,

³⁹The writer rarely fails to mention the fact when the young women he is describing are noted for their beauty. On at least one occasion one of his lady confidantes wanted to see him more frequently, but, in heroic fashion, he rejected her plan (385).

and with reason. He abused women, wiped out the most powerful leaders of his realm, and incarcerated for life many, both men and women, who had offended him. He despised the mendicants, and visited them often with cruel oppression. The Roman emperors Nero, Decius, Diocletian, and Maximian, could not hold a candle to him; he was "the worst man in the world". Salimbene does not record the details of this monster's death. But he states that, although Alberic was reconciled to the church in his last hours, Eccelin was stubborn to the last, "in order that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled, ' . . . the one shall be taken, and the other left,' Matthew 24" (368).

The arrival of Charles of Anjou upon the soil of Italy brought new leadership to the distracted country and new aid to the church, but increased the confusion which already existed. Salimbene traces in some detail the career of the Count of Provence. Pope Urban IV, he writes, gave the kingdom of Sicily to Charles, and the next year confirmed him in his dominion (469). The French ruler came to Rome by ship, was elected Senator, and then entered Apulia, where he met Manfred on the field of battle and deprived him of his life and kingdom (470).

Aiding him in this campaign were Lombard soldiers whom a papal legate had raised for the purpose, and a multitude of French troops, which the chronicler saw while he was on a preaching mission in the neighborhood of Faenza. The citizens of Cremona sought to impede the progress of the French warriors who were rushing to Charles' aid, but the captain of the invaders, the Count of Flanders, ruthlessly crushed all opposition and

drove on through, via Mantua, to the front (471).

After the discomfiture and rout of the imperial forces, Charles pushed on to Nuceria (477), where he slew a Saracen garrison and initiated his stern policy of Moslem repression throughout Apulia and Sicily. The ascendancy of the Guelf party seemed about to be restored in Italy when the king overcame the young prince Conradin, in 1268 (480). The same year Pope Clement died; for thirty-three months the papacy was vacant, and Charles served as undisputed leader of the Guelf cause. Seeking ever to increase his power, he summoned a diet to Cremona, in 1269, during the sessions of which several cities of Lombardy acknowledged him as their master, and others entered into firm alliances of friendship with him.

When Gregory X became pope, in 1272, he sought to restore the Guelf-Ghibelline equilibrium in northern Italy by persuading several Guelf towns to recall the Ghibellines whom they had expelled. By this time Charles was becoming increasingly unpopular because of his foreign origin and oppressive rule. Pope Nicholas III, who came to the Papal See in 1277, shared the general discontent with the king's program, and sought to humble him by depriving him of his rank as Senator of Rome and master of the Lombard cities. When this pontiff died three years later, most of the count's influence was destroyed in the Guelf republics. Pope Martin IV, elected at Charles' insistence, was devoted to his French lord, restored him to senatorial rank, and with him persuaded the Guelf cities once more to drive out

Ghibelline sympathisers from their borders.

But now trouble was brewing in another direction. King Peter of Aragon was the new storm center, and the pages of the Chronicle are eloquent in their description of the complicated relationship between this Spaniard and Charles of Anjou. Salimbene quotes at length from the Gesta Karuli as he narrates the events which led up to the denouement.

Peter had married the daughter of Prince Manfred, the ruler whom Charles had slain (509). He realized that the French occupants of Sicily were extremely unpopular with the inhabitants of the island, and determined to take advantage of the situation. To divert the attention of his French rival, he sent an ambassador to Charles to contract a marriage between the count's granddaughter and one of his own sons. While the conversations were taking place, he attacked Sicily with the aid of the king of Castile and Paleologus, ruler over the Greeks in Constantinople. The king of France sent messengers to Peter charging him to give up his plan of invasion, and warning him that if injury were done to Charles or his family, the French king would regard it as a personal affront (523). The wily Peter replied kindly to the ambassadors, and stated that he was on his way to attack the perfidious Saracens across the sea; and, further, that whatever land he might acquire he would give to his son, who was soon to marry Charles' granddaughter. The Spaniard went a step further. He asked from the papacy tithes as a subsidy for his journey, and besought the pope to take his land under his care and protection.

When King Charles learned that Peter had entered Sicily, he ordered him to leave the country. Peter, confident of his strength, and relying upon his Sicilian friends, refused to obey. His opponent then gathered a great company of knights and infantry and started out against him with a mighty fleet. Peter, Count of Artois, brother of the French king, assembled a multitude of French troops, and went to the aid of his uncle against the forces of Aragon. But at about this time a tragedy known as the "Sicilian Vespers"⁴⁰ was enacted (in 1282). The populace of the island rebelled against their French conquerors, and a massacre took place in which over four thousand men, women, and children were slaughtered. The kingdom of Sicily was now separated from that of Naples, and was transferred to Peter of Aragon.

The chronicler enters upon a lengthy description of an event which could have taken place only in the days when feudalism was still a reality in Europe--a strange arrangement agreed upon by the opposing forces of France and Aragon (824f.). The wise officers on both sides, not wishing that multitudes of soldiers should perish in conflict, agreed that the war should be on this order: six discreet soldiers should be chosen from

⁴⁰This tragic episode in Sicilian history is graphically discussed in F. M. Crawford, Southern Italy and Sicily and the Rulers of the South (New York, 1905), II, 316ff. The author emphasizes the relationship between the brutal massacre and the ultimate defeat of Charles of Anjou. See also H. D. Sedgwick, Italy in the Thirteenth Century (Boston and New York, 1933), pp. 134-138. The historical background of these rapidly shifting political events is given in H. B. Cotterill, Medieval Italy during a Thousand Years (305-1313) (London, 1915); and in H. D. Sedgwick, A Short History of Italy (476-1900) (Boston, 1905).

each side, who would decide where, how, and when, the war should be fought, and the King of England would be the sponsor of the contest. The duly selected representatives chose Bordeaux as the battle-field, and agreed that their two kings, each with one hundred of his best knights, should meet in combat at the designated place, on June 1, 1283. The scene of action was an enclosed field, which was to be faithfully guarded, so that only the contestants might enter it.

Charles and Peter solemnly swore by the holy gospel of God to go to the assigned place at the proper time. Charles fulfilled his pledge, and appeared on schedule before the seneschal and other officials of the English sovereign. He waited for his adversary from morning until evening, but Peter did not appear, nor did he send a representative in his stead. As the result of this breach of promise, the papal legate deprived him of his kingdom, and gave it to the King of France, who received the territory in the name of his son and prepared to invade it (525).

Salimbene tries to be fair to Peter of Aragon. He remarks that some of the king's supporters excused him for withdrawing ignobly from the war. Many said that he failed to appear on the Bordeaux battle-field because he had learned that the French king stood near with his troops, ready to give his uncle aid if necessary. Others believed that Peter did actually fulfill his oath: disguised in the clothing of a merchant, he went to the proposed scene of action, established a temporary residence

there, and then withdrew out of fear of the king of France (525).

While King Charles was absent on this strange military adventure, his son, Charles II, to whom he had given the principality of Apulia, fought a naval battle against the admiral of Peter's fleet. The prince was defeated and taken prisoner (526), and when Charles reached Naples a few days later, he called an assembly, denounced his son as a fool for going to battle without his consent, disinherited the unfortunate young man, and gave Apulia to the prisoner's son. Then, in celebration of his grandson's promotion, he put on a tournament for his knights.

The chronicler writes, in 1284 (527), that he does not know the outcome of the wars between Charles and Peter of Aragon. But later he adds that, in the brief space of one year, the church experienced four major disasters: in 1285, Charles' son was captured by the enemy, Charles himself died a short time later, Pope Martin IV went the way of all flesh, and the king of France also passed away (594). This combination of misfortunes, however, did not end the bitter struggle for the control of Sicily and Apulia. Two years later the son of Peter of Aragon met the French in battle once more, defeated them, and gained control of the entire kingdom (642). The same year the fleet of Aragon met and engaged the ships of the French navy, many vessels of which were sunk. The prisoners who were captured were miserably tortured. But, Salimbene adds blandly, they deserved it. For the French are most proud, wicked, and accursed; they despise all nations, especially the English and the Lombards; and they, in turn, deserve to be despised (651).

The protracted disputes between the church and the empire had strong repercussions in the cities of northern Italy. The thirteenth century witnessed a remarkable development of the town movement throughout the area in which the battles were fought. With the new economy of the day, the growth of municipal institutions, the rise of the middle classes to greater power,⁴¹ and the new emphasis on trade and commerce, city life was rapidly replacing the demesne system of feudal days. Over against the great people (Majores) of the early aristocracy, the little people (Minores) were coming into their own.⁴² The Guelph-Ghibelline struggle, therefore, was complicated by a new set of loyalties and rivalries. As the result, Lombardy, Tuscany, and the various republics of the land, were in almost constant turmoil. Salimbene's Chronicle furnishes innumerable details with respect to the individual cities, their problems, their internal wars, and their external relationships. But, in general, the confusion which reigned in the towns was the result of four major circumstances, all of which were involved in a strange variety of

⁴¹For a lucid description of the emancipation of the rural classes, the emergence of liquid capital and of mercantile wealth, and the economic revival of the century, see H. Pirenne, Medieval Cities, their Origins and the Revival of Trade (Princeton, 1925), pp. 78-243. Other important works on the subject are H. M. Knight, Economic History of Europe to the End of the Middle Ages (Boston, 1926), and H. Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (London, 1936).

⁴²It is not strange that there was often a bond of fellowship between the little people and the early Franciscans. When St. Francis called his followers the "Lesser Brethren," he was prompted by theological, and not primarily by social motives. Nevertheless there was likely to be a warm sympathy between the social and the religious Minores. See II Cel., 71; Bon., VII, 8.

combinations. In some instances it is impossible to ascertain which was the primary cause of trouble.

There was, first, the divided loyalty engendered by the Guelf-Ghibelline struggle. Usually the higher nobility of the cities was allied with the imperial forces, and the rising burgher class and the peasantry with the church. As early as 1226, the Guelf parties in fifteen important towns in the north renewed the Lombard League of previous years.⁴³ This confederation of republics came to the aid of Gregory IX against the encroachments of Frederick II. Salimbene devotes many pages of his book to a discussion of the resultant warfare. Bologna, for example, was one of the most bellicose of the Guelf cities. She attacked Modena (30), Imola (34), Parma and Cremona (36), Forlì (191), and other towns; and the chronicler records a large number of anecdotes relating to the heroism of her soldiers, her efforts in the direction of peace (480), her subtle intrigue (485), her allies from the neighboring towns (490), and her victories and defeats (319).⁴⁴

A second occasion for war was the hostility between the empire, or the church, and certain cities of Italy. Whenever

⁴³These cities were Milan, Bologna, Placentia, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alexandria, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso.

⁴⁴The description of Bologna's military achievements finds a parallel in the chronicler's treatment of the changing vicissitudes of other towns. Parma, for example, was originally on the imperial side. Her decision to turn against the emperor, Salimbene feels, changed the entire trend of events in Frederick's career.

the burgher element of the population gained political control in the towns, there was likely to be a fresh determination to resist the emperor. This often led to vigorous action on Frederick's part as he sought to quell the rising spirit of independence and rebellion. On the other hand, when the feudal nobility was in the ascendant in the cities, the church stood ready to intervene on behalf of her interests and following. Thus the towns were caught between the Scylla of the empire and the Charybdis of the church. When Parma felt strong enough to evict the Ghibelline sympathizers from her bounds, Frederick commenced his long, but fruitless, siege of the city. But when Ferrara, which Innocent IV claimed as belonging to papal jurisdiction, turned against the church, the city was successfully besieged by Gregory of Monte-longo, papal legate in Lombardy, and his allies.⁴⁵

But perhaps the most tragic reason for the incessant chaos in the cities was the intra-city hostility which developed, resulting in the division of families, and in internal civil discord. Salimbene was quite familiar with the strife which arose between the "party within" and the "party without" in some of the prominent places in which he resided. Modena, for instance, was torn for years by the most vindictive and cruel sort

⁴⁵Many years later, when Forlì held all Romagna under its control against the wishes of the church, Martin IV sent armies against the rebellious city (509); and although the unfortunate town returned to the precepts of the church, the armies of the papacy plundered and destroyed large areas of the province (516).

of jealousy and warfare. She expelled the imperial party (469), and then besieged it in its fortress (473). The two opposing forces exchanged raids, and destroyed, in the process, lovely homes and fertile fields (527). Leading citizens of the community fell a prey to the ruthlessness of the conflict (581), while all efforts on the part of nearby towns to reconcile the combatants came to nought (588). The story of Modena's civil strife can be duplicated at length in the case of Reggio, whose history is a sad record of destruction (334), of reconciliation (452), and of renewed divisions. In 1284 there were actually three groups in and around Reggio: the wandering imperial party, and the Superiors and Inferiors among the church adherents (529). The results of the indescribable confusion were that the city spent its energies in plundering (632), in spying (634), in hiring mercenary troops (636), and in celebrating victories and deploring defeats (639). The surprising thing is that, in spite of all this, the cities of northern Italy continued their upward movement in the direction of independence and prosperity. Wars, of course, interrupted efforts at architectural improvement (67); nonetheless, city after city launched a building program which would have been a credit to times of peace. The chronicler is especially grateful for the fact that Parma's episcopal palace was constructed in these critical days (68), her bridges were made more enduring (518), her squares were widened (519), and her bell towers (526), her ship canal, and her system of highways were modernized (519).

But in addition to these reasons for conflict, there was

often an undercurrent of inter-city rivalry,⁴⁶ which increased the bitterness of the warfare, and actually motivated much of the so-called party loyalty. Salimbene was quick to grasp the fact that the jealousy between the towns was often due to conflicting commercial ambitions.

The Bolognese, for example, were suspicious of the Venetians (480, 481). In 1270 they constructed a fortress in the district of Ravenna where the river Po empties into the sea. The indignant Venetians stood on the opposite side of the river and furiously assaulted the fortress with catapults and other devices of war. The citizens of Bologna defended their tower manfully, and crushed the assaults of the adversary. The chronicler explains the purpose of the Bolognese in building their fort. He writes that the Venetians were a greedy, tenacious lot, eagerly desirous of subjugating the entire world. They mistreated merchants who traded with them, and levied high tolls on foreign merchandise. They sold dearly to all strangers, and decreed that if a visitor brought his goods to Venice for sale, he had to sell all that he had brought. Further, if any foreign vessel were damaged off the coast of the city of canals, it could not sail away until it had sold its wares in Venice. The Venetians objected strenuously when Bologna erected her fortress at the mouth of the Po; but, the friar asserts, they

⁴⁶It was in the battle between Assisi and the powerful republic of Perugia that Francis was taken prisoner; and later, on the way to Apulia to aid the army of Walter of Brienne, he became ill at Spoleto, and thereafter gave up his soldier's career to become a lover and defender of Lady Poverty. See II Cel., 8; I Cel., 7; Bon. I, 5-6; Tres Soc., 6-7.

themselves had built a similar structure in previous years. They had told the people of Ravenna that they wanted the fortress for only fifty years, and they guaranteed to pay the Ravennese fifty pounds annually for the concession. But the citizens of Venice dealt treacherously with Ravenna. They really intended to make the bargain last forever, as they proved by constructing the fortress of durable material. With the aid of their tower they closed an important trade route to the Lombards, and prevented their neighbors from securing food from Romagna and the March of Ancona. They themselves bought up the important markets of these fertile areas and resold the produce at higher prices. To insure the proper functioning of their commercial scheme, they maintained an armed ship in the Ravenna harbor to track down any boot-leggers; and they were represented in Ravenna itself by an agent, who looked after their interests (482).

The people of Mantua, similarly, were jealous of the prosperity of the city of Cremona. Not content with merely taking toll of the ships which sailed the Po, the Mantuans compelled the vessels to travel all the way to their city, where they were unloaded and reloaded before proceeding on their way. The Cremonese retaliated by constructing a huge dam which, in turn, caused floods and destroyed large areas of Reggio. Thus the inter-city confusion increased.

Parma and Modena had their difficulties too (544). In 1284, when the Modenese civil war was at its height, the Parmesans were importing many wagon loads of salt. The internal party of Modena, provoked that the convoys of their neighbors avoided the main

highway where toll was paid, rushed out against the wagon drivers, and confiscated their carts, oxen, and salt. Parma protested vehemently against this depredation; and the mutual recriminations lasted for many years.

Salimbene's Chronicle is an excellent source of information regarding the wars between Pisa and Genoa. The former of these cities was loyal to the imperial cause and the latter was usually Guelf in her sympathies. But the chronicler, who describes in detail some of the battles between the coastal cities (532ff.), is aware that the strife was attributable, not only to political and religious motives, but, even more definitely, to commercial rivalry. He writes:

Who can report without sadness and weeping the fact that these two noble cities, out of which so many good things come to us Italians, were destroying each other out of ambition, pomp, and vainglory, because one city wished to excel the other, as though the sea were not large enough for all their ships (534)?

Pisa seemed to be at odds with several of her neighbors. Just as enmity is natural between men and snakes, and between dogs and wolves, so hostility was to be expected between the Pisans and the Genoese (535). But there was hatred and malevolence between Pisa and Lucca as well, largely because their areas were contiguous (536); and also between Pisa and Florence, because the former imposed too heavy duties on Florentine goods. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the citizens of Lucca and Florence learned that the Genoese had defeated the Pisans, they prepared an army and attacked Pisa in the hope of wiping it from the face of the earth (536).

It is clear, from these considerations, that mixed motives governed the spirits of men in the North Italian cities. Frederick II and his successors to power were responsible for a considerable share of the prevailing chaos. Commercial interests, on the other hand, played their significant role. In addition to these, as has been suggested, the papacy was continuously active, and always wanted it to be understood that it was not only a spiritual organism, but also an organization with practical, mundane interests. Salimbene is ever mindful of the fact that the church functioned in this dual, and most effective, capacity.

Chapter III

ECCELSIASTICAL LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

The church of Christ has always been confronted with the problem of reconciling the ideal with the actual. Ever since the days of her founding, she has existed in two distinct, yet closely related, modes: she has been an invisible living union of members in one body whose Head is Christ, and at the same time a visible, functioning, organization, with officials, adherents, and programs. The question of preserving her primitive clan in the midst of expanding contacts and changing needs has ever been insistent and perplexing.

As our author surveys the ecclesiastical scene, and records his findings in the Chronicle, he does so as one who has always been, and always expects to be, loyal to the church and all for which she stands. He never questions her right to men's loyalty. He does not doubt the validity of her hierarchical institution, nor the sacred worth of her sacramental system. But the friar

is a realist. As such, he understands that the church had fallen far short of her spiritual standards, and voices the complaints which had echoed down the corridor of the generations: oppression, greed, simony, had usurped the place of the nobler virtues in the church; ignorance and vice had spread like a cancer through her vitals; dark and lurking shadows had replaced the brightness of her original light. Salimbene is a reporter, rather than a reformer; but even in his stern, and sometimes repulsive, realism, he remembers the church's pristine goal and regrets her awakening from her original dream.

The chronicler writes, not as a judge of the church, but, rather, as a critic of churchmen. His volume deals occasionally with the virtues and vices of the clergy as such, but he is usually more concerned with the merits and shortcomings of individual clerics. Much of his attention is devoted to the character and activities of clergymen of all ranks, from the occupants of the papal throne to the least conspicuous clerics out in the villages.

The friar has a high regard for the papacy.¹ He does not

¹The character and careers of the thirteenth century popes are described in F. X. Seppelt and C. Loeffler, A Short History of the Popes (St. Louis, 1932), pp. 170-206; C. Mirbt, Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Römischen Katholizismus (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 172-184, 194-209. Consult also D. Attwater, Dictionary of the Popes (London, 1939); G. Jacquemet, Tu es Petrus (Paris, 1934); H. K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (London, 1925-1932), vols. XII-XVI; L. Pastor, The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages (St. Louis, 1923), vol. I; P. Roquaïn, La cour de Rome et l'esprit de Réforme avant Luther (Paris, 1893), vols. I-III. The nature and functioning of the papal ideal are treated in G. Bagnani, Rome and the Papacy (New York, 1929); and in J. Haller, Das Papsttum, Idee und Wirklichkeit (Stuttgart, 1939), esp. vols. II and III.

question the right of the Holy See to the reverent loyalty of men. In attacking the "Apostles",² a heretical sect which sought to compete with the mendicants, he insists that

it is manifest to all Christians, and, indeed, to all the world, that the pontifex, who is called both pope and apostle, is vicar not only of the apostle Peter, but also of Jesus Christ; and that obedience is due to him in all things, especially in those which are not contrary to the catholic faith and to the good of eternal salvation (268).

The papal curia in Salimbene's day was a spiritual and temporal force of formidable proportions.³ Its sources of revenue had increased in number and variety;⁴ the pontifical court had become an intricate assortment of highly trained personages, whose

²For a concise summary of the heretical sects of the middle ages see paragraph "Neue Sekten," in Ficker and Hermelink, op. cit., II, 173. The background of these religious movements is given in H. Grundmann, Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1935), pp. 373-394. Of especial value is J. von Böllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters (Munich, 1890). Consult also R. P. Helyot, Dictionnaire des ordres religieux (Paris, 1847-59). This subject will be treated more fully in chapter IV of this dissertation.

³The organizational life of the church is admirably discussed in M. W. Baldwin, The Medieval Papacy in Action (New York, 1940), and in S. Baldwin, The Organization of Medieval Christianity (New York, 1929). Other valuable authorities on the subject are N. Hilling, Procedure at the Roman Curia (New York, 1907), and J. B. Sagnauter, Lehrbuch des Katholischen Kirchenrechts (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1914), vols. I and II. For the relationship between the papacy and the political world, see C. C. Eckhardt, The Papacy and World Affairs (Chicago, 1937), esp. ch. I, "The Church and Politics in the Middle Ages."

⁴See W. E. Lunt, Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages (New York, 1934), vols. I and II.

duties were specific and diversified; canon law was becoming increasingly codified; the authority of the pope was extending to every sphere and activity of life. Pope Innocent III had made stupendous claims to complete and ultimate jurisdiction, not only sacramentally, but legally as well, over the lives and destinies of men. Everything, it seemed, was referable to the pontiff for final deliverance.

But while the papal institution was firmly undergirded by legal and moral claims, Salimbene is quite aware of the fact that some of the popes did not measure up to the high moral standards of their office. It was not unusual for them to promote and exalt their illegitimate sons to positions of dignity and wealth (170). They often stooped to shrewd and questionable political practices, as when they sought to squeeze some fresh authority or territory out of the state when a new emperor came to power (509).

The chronicler was born five years after the death of Innocent III. He discusses, either with a few strokes of the pen, or else at length, every pontiff from Innocent's day to the year 1287, when he is about to bring his Chronicle to a close. The friar has not written a history of the papal hierarchy, but has simply jotted down items of interest which are often entirely unrelated. His contribution to historical research in this field lies, not so much in his references to the well-known events associated with the careers of the popes, as in the more intimate details which, as a contemporary, he is able to furnish.

Early in his volume (31) he refers to the achievements of Innocent III. He states that the papacy thrived under this pontiff's direction. The pope was a man of high courage and magnanimity, and was not to blame for the fact that Frederick II turned against the church. Salimbene relates several interesting anecdotes about the pontiff. On one occasion Innocent measured the seamless robe of Christ, and discovered that the Master was of smaller stature than he; but when he put on the robe, it seemed to have become larger, and therefore he held the garment in reverent esteem. The pope had the habit, when preaching, of holding a book before him, and he explained that he did this as an example to his chaplains. He had a keen sense of humor, too, which he displayed one day by replying in poetry to a professional jokester from the March of Anconitana (32).

The pontiff's successor was Honorius III (32), who called a council at which disciplinary statutes were issued, a bishop was deposed "who had not read Donatus," and decrees were passed concerning the celebration of the Eucharist⁵ (33). After

⁵During the rule of Honorius several councils were held which outlined the significance and stressed the importance of this sacrament. See Mansi, op. cit., XXII, cols. 1118, 1119, 1175, 1176, XXIII, cols. 27, 28. The nature and function of the Eucharist are admirably discussed in P. Pourrat, Theology of the Sacraments; A Study in Positive Theology (St. Louis, 1930); M. Brilliant, Eucharistia, encyclopédie populaire sur l'eucharistie (Paris, 1934); and N. Gehr, The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass; Dogmatically, Liturgically, and Ascetically Explained (St. Louis, 1941). The historical evolution of the Mass is traced in A. Fortescue, The Mass, a Study of the Roman Liturgy (London, 1937).

Honorius came Gregory IX, during whose regime, the chronicler states, the ship of Peter almost sank (36). The friar describes several of Gregory's accomplishments. He records that the pope combined five sets of decretals into one volume;⁶ he excommunicated the Greeks, because of their false views of the procession of the Holy Spirit, and because they refused to obey the Roman Church; he canonized blessed Francis, and Elizabeth,⁷ daughter of the king of Hungary. Gregory was a friend and benefactor of the Minors (174), in whose interest he deposed Brother Elias, minister-general of the order (110). The pope

⁶The decretals of Pope Gregory IX are incorporated in A. Friedberg, Corpus iuris canonici (Leipzig, 1879), II, cols. 1-928. The subject of canon law is treated in Sagnüller, op. cit.; P. E. L. Fournier, Histoire des collections canoniques in Occident depuis les Fausses décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien (Paris, 1931-32); P. Hinschius, Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland (Berlin, 1869-), vols. I-VI; R. Sohm, Kirchenrecht (Leipzig, 1892-), vols. I and II.

⁷The memory of this sainted young woman is still fragrant in Thuringia and Hesse. Born in Hungary in 1207, she was wedded to Ludwig, second son of the Landgrave of Thuringia, in 1221. She was widely known for her deep piety and generous philanthropy. In 1221 the Franciscans first settled permanently in Germany. Seven years later Elizabeth renounced the world and received the dress of the Third Order of St. Francis. The same year she built the Franciscan hospital at Marburg, and thenceforward dedicated her energies to the care of the sick. She died in 1231, and was canonized four years later. For a brief biography and concise bibliography see article "Elizabeth of Hungary", in The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1909), V, 389-391. Authoritative information concerning Elizabeth is given in A. B. C. Dunbar, A Dictionary of Saintly Women (London, 1904), I, 259-264; The Book of Saints, A Dictionary of Servants of God Canonized by the Catholic Church (Compiled by the Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate) (New York, 1937), pp. 91, 92. Her sanctity is beautifully depicted in The Golden Legend, II, 675-689.

was a man of genuine and tender compassion (88), and, in addition, he was a composer of hymns and responses in honor of St. Francis (883).

Celestine IV, of Milan, occupied the papal throne for only seventeen days. After him the papacy was vacant for nearly two years, both because of disagreement among the cardinals, and because of the emperor's intervention (174). At length Innocent IV came to power, and during his administration a series of important events took place, including the removal of the papal curia to Lyons, and the death of Frederick II.

Salimbene often saw Innocent IV. He writes that the pope had been a canon in the Parma cathedral, and that he had known the chronicler's father. He was a liberal man, and enjoyed the friendship of the Minors, a large number of whom he always had with him. He built for the friars a church and a beautiful home, in which he wanted twenty-five brethren always to live; but the friars refused to accept the home, and he presented it to other Religious (61). In 1244 the pope fled to Lyons, where he remained until after Frederick's death (175). The author visited him often in this French retreat (53). At the Council of Lyons, the pontiff condemned Frederick, and had the Landgrave of Thuringia elected king of Germany; St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and Peter of Perugia, of the order of Preachers, were canonized; and St. Stavillanus of Assisi, whom Frederick had put to death, was also enrolled in the catalogue of the saints.

As soon as the emperor died Innocent returned to Apulia (1175). On his return journey he passed through Genoa and attended a lavish wedding feast⁸ given in honor of his nephew (1145). From Genoa the pope travelled to Milan, where he remained a month or more; and he was in the city when the Milanese invaded the town of Lodi. Thence he went to Brescia, and on to Mantua, to the monastery of St. Benedict, where the countess Matilda⁹ lay buried in a stone tomb. The pontiff and his cardinals gathered around the grave and recited the benefits which the countess had conferred on the Roman church. The papal party then continued on its way to Ferrara, where Innocent preached, and the cardinals sent gifts of food to the minors of the city. At Bologna the pope was warmly received; but he did not remain long in the city, for the Bolognese provoked him to anger by an unwarranted request for a piece of church property to which they

⁸This is one of the repasts which the author describes graphically. The friar is impressed by the number and the variety of the courses. He remarks that even the queen of Sheba would have marvelled at the feast.

⁹The reference is to Matilda of Canossa, Countess of Tuscany. During the strenuous conflict between empire and papacy which came to a head in the days of Gregory VII, she proved to be a staunch and dependable ally of the pontiff and his successors. For selections from the letters of Gregory to Matilda, see E. Emerton, The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII (New York, 1932), pp. 8f., 23f., 33f., etc. The Vita Mathildis by Donizo is available in MGH, Scriptores, XII, 343-409. Consult also J. W. Thompson, Feudal Germany (Chicago, 1928), pp. 103, 151, 154, 270.

were not entitled (447). A large number of noble women, who had come from their villas to Bologna to see the pontiff, greeted him as he left the town, and received the papal blessing.

Toward the close of his life, Innocent began to persecute¹⁰ the mendicant orders. As the result, Salimbene says, God intervened and brought about his death. The chronicler tells some of the sad incidents connected with the pope's passing. For hours before he breathed his last, Innocent lay naked and forsaken by all, "as the custom of the Roman pontiffs is" when they end their days. Two German Minors approached the dying man and said, "We have waited for several months, wishing to speak with you . . . but your door-keepers would not allow us to enter. Now they no longer care for your custody, for they expect nothing more from you. Nevertheless we shall wash your body. . . ." A short while later the pontiff died, with the words upon his lips, "propter iniquitatem corripuisti hominem" (420). He was buried in a church in the city of Naples.

As soon as the end came, the podesta of Naples closed the city gates, and forbade the cardinals who were present to leave. The prelates were unable to choose a new pope unanimously; but they compromised, and selected Rainaldus, bishop of Ostia, who

¹⁰Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, voiced the growing animosity toward the pope. The bishop expressed his views in a letter to Innocent IV in which he expressed his refusal to admit the pontiff's nephew into a canonry in Lincoln cathedral. The letter is available in H. R. Luard (ed.), Annales Monastici (Rolls Series, No. XXXVI, London, 1864), I, 311-313.

assumed the name Alexander IV (453). The new pope was from the city of Anagni. For many years he had been cardinal protector of the Minors. Salimbene describes him as somewhat corpulent (like the warrior Eglon of old), benign, cultured, peaceful, and devoted to God (454). Our author sagely remarks that, although Alexander had a sister in the order of St. Clare, and a nephew who was a Minor, he did not make her abbess, or him cardinal (453). During his administration of seven years (383), he canonized St. Clare and composed hymns and collects in her honour; he loved to preach and to consecrate churches; he condemned two books, one of which asserted that the mendicants could not be saved, and the other of which contained many falsities concerning the teachings of Joachim.

The next pope, Urban IV (1261-1264), had been patriarch of Jerusalem (317). He was a man of generous spirit, as was indicated by his forgiveness of the bishop of Ferrara, who had refused to entertain him in previous years (317). It was Urban who gave to the Gaudentes a rule for their order; who violently snatched the Kingdom of Sicily away from Prince Manfred, and gave it to Charles of Anjou (469); and whose nepotism and immorality were a menace to the life of the church (170).

Clement IV was elected to the papacy in 1265. The chronicler describes his rapid rise to ecclesiastical preeminence. The pope had been a famous lawyer and adviser of the French king. He was a man widely respected, and blessed with a wife and several children. When his wife died, he was made a bishop, and

then archbishop of Narbonne; and, finally, he was promoted to the office of cardinal. Later Pope Urban IV sent him as a legate to England. While he was away on this mission he was elected pope by the cardinals at Perugia (476). He refused to receive the high office until he had first had the opportunity to visit the Church of St. Francis of Assisi (469, 470). Clement was so intent on vigils, fasts, and prayers, our friar asserts, that by his merits God is believed to have spared the church much trouble. When Conradinus attacked Charles of Anjou, and many considered that the cause of the church was in grave jeopardy, the pope predicted in a public sermon that Conradinus would pass away like smoke. This prophecy was fulfilled, for the young prince was executed and his threat vanished into thin air (476). Clement's years in office were few. One of his major accomplishments was the canonization, in the church at Viterbo, of a certain Edroiga,¹¹ duchess of Poland, who had been a widow of extreme sanctity (477), and whose canonization had been postponed for many years.

After Clement's death the papacy was vacant for several

¹¹St. Hedwig, Duchess of Silesia and Poland, was born in 1174, and at an early age married Henry, son of Boleslaus I, Duke of Silesia. Several years later she determined, although remaining in the married state, to keep the vow of chastity. The duchess was widely known for her austere devotion and her tender interest in the poor. She and her husband founded the Cistercian nunnery of Trebnitz, in 1203. Hedwig was the aunt of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Information concerning her career and achievements is given in The Book of Saints, p. 132; in Dunbar, op. cit., pp. 362-369; and in P. Guérin (ed.), Les Petits Bollandistes, vie des Saints (Paris, 1878), XII, 414-421.

years because the cardinals were unable to agree on his successor (479). This lack of a pontiff was horrible, Salimbene writes, and the common people wondered at such a state of affairs. When Gregory X was at last chosen, he instituted a new rule relative to papal elections (493).¹² The new pontiff was a very religious man, kind and generous, devoted to the interests of the poor. Out of loyalty to Christ he had crossed the sea; and during his absence he was elected by the cardinals in the palace of Viterbo. His regime was marked by only one ordination of cardinals, but the officials whom he chose were men of real worth and high reputation (488). In the third year of his rule, he summoned the Council of Lyons (in 1274). The chronicler lists the purposes and accomplishments of this council and the number of delegates.¹³ He states that the

¹²In A. D. 1059 it was decreed that the pope should be elected by the cardinals. In 1130 the first dual election took place--there was a tie vote in the cardinalate. The Third Lateran Council (1179) eliminated the possibility of such a tie by deciding that the pontiff should be chosen by a two-thirds vote. Innocent IV gave to the cardinals their red hats in 1245. In 1274 the conclave was organized. See Mansi, op. cit., XXII, cols. 217, 218; XXIV, cols. 81-86. It is this last act to which Salimbene refers here. The expanding functions of the cardinalate are discussed in Hilling, op. cit., pp. 13-15, 25-29; Jacquemet, op. cit., pp. 183-188; Sagmiller, op. cit., I, 408-415; and in Schm, op. cit.

¹³There were fifty bishops present, he writes; sixty abbots, and about a thousand other prelates. Messengers from the Greeks and Tartars were there. Many important decisions were reached: the Greeks promised to return to the unity of the church; the Tartar messengers, baptised, returned in happy mood to their own people; matters relating to the Holy Land, to the election of popes, and to the state of the universal church, were settled; and the heretical sect of "Saccati" was abolished (488ff.). See Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 324-364; Mansi, op. cit., XXIV, cols. 37-136; Hefele and Leclercq, op. cit., VI, 153-209.

pope was wonderfully experienced in secular matters, and most zealous in the things of God. He was not greedy of lucre, but seemed to be genuinely disinterested in the performance of his duty. He rebuked, or deposed, church officials whom he suspected of simony (491). He was intensely interested in the recovery of the Holy Land (494). Salimbene feels that the pope's untimely death was attributable to two facts: the pontiff had favoured the renewal of the empire, although it was not the divine will that any powerful emperor should arise after Frederick II; and he was eager to capture the sepulchre of the Lord and to restore it to Christian control, whereas it did not seem to have been the purpose of God that the sacred shrine be seized.

In 1276 Brother Peter, archbishop of Lyons, whom Gregory X had made cardinal along with Bonaventura and others, was elected pope. He was known as Innocent V, and lived for only a few months after his election (496). Octobonus of Fisco, nephew of Innocent IV, was then chosen, and took the name Adrian V. When he died in the same year as his predecessor, John XXI mounted the papal throne and ruled for eight months and a day. Cardinal John Galetanus, protector of the Minors, then became Pope Nicholas III, and exercised his authority for three years, until 1280. After he became pope, the chronicler writes, he clarified certain difficult portions of the

Franciscan Rule (498).¹⁴

Martin IV, the French pope, began his administration in 1281. Prior to his election he had studied law in Parma, had been treasurer of the church of St. Martin of Tours, and had been promoted to the office of cardinal. He was a strong friend of the Minors, to whom he regularly confessed, and upon whom he showered numerous benefits (506). He was active politically: he sent a legate to Sicily to call the Sicilians back to the precepts of the church (508); he spent a fortune in an effort to win back Romagna, and did not hesitate to divert part of the tithe money which Gregory X had raised for an expedition to the Holy Land (438). The chronicler describes a beautiful papal custom, in connection with the rule of Martin IV. The pope was in the habit of presenting annually to the prefect of the city of Rome a golden rose containing musk and balsam. The three items symbolized the trinity of substances in Christ: the gold, the excellence of his divinity; the balsam, the fulness of his love; and the musk, the body of the Son of God assumed from the humanity of Adam. Just as the pontiff gave the rose to the city

¹⁴The reference is doubtless to the papal bull, Exiit qui seminat, issued in 1279, which presents new excuses for recourse to nuntii, and which moderates the demands of the Franciscan Rule and the Will of St. Francis. The text of the bull is available in J. H. Sbaralea (ed.), Bullarium Franciscanum (Quaracchi, 1929-), III, 404-416. The manner in which the poverty ideal of the Poverello was transformed in the thirteenth century is outlined in P. Gratien, Histoire de la Fondation & de L'Evolution de l'Ordre des Frères Mineurs au XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1928). Repeated references will be made to this authoritative volume. The evolution of the ideal will be discussed in chapter IV of this dissertation.

official, so God the Father promised to give his Son as a reward to those he loved (565).

By way of contrast, Pope Honorius IV (1285-1287) was hostile to the mendicants. He was a gouty man of little worth, a greedy, Roman church official (618). He created only one cardinal, whom he sent into Germany to bring the emperor Rudolfus to Italy that he might crown him. But death prevented the pontiff from carrying out his design, and Rudolfus remained without the imperial sceptre (629). Salimbene is convinced that God removed Honorius from the scene for two reasons. First, it was simply not the divine intention that the empire should be restored. And secondly, Honorius was a promoter of the new heretical sects and a would-be destroyer of the established orders. He persecuted the Minors and Preachers, and wanted to take away their privileges of preaching and hearing confessions. His zeal in this regard was prompted by certain ultramontane prelates, who spent large sums of money in the effort to realize their desires (629). But God, Salimbene states, would not tolerate this wickedness. One day Cardinal Mattheus Rubeus, protector of the Minors, came to the brothers weeping, and said to them, "I have laboured to avert the pontiff's plans, but I cannot turn him from his malicious designs . . . Therefore ask God to help . . . Ask blessed Francis to deign to show miracles" Hearing this, the brothers all began to pray, and the next evening Honorius was smitten by the Almighty, and died (630).¹⁵

¹⁵There is only one reference to Pope Nicholas IV in the Chronicle (625). The author writes of a certain privilege which the Minors received from him. The pontiff ruled from 1288-1292,

As has been suggested, Salimbene is never critical of the papacy as such. He points out the shortcomings of different popes, but he is always loyal to the papal institution. When it comes to the other ecclesiastical officials, however, his attitude is by no means so reverent. Cardinals, legates, bishops, and lesser clergy all come in for their share of vituperation, as well as of praise. At times not only their persons, but their positions too, are attacked. The line of demarcation between light and shadow is clearer and more emphatic in the author's characterization of these dignitaries than in his description of the popes.

The chronicler had many friendly contacts with cardinals¹⁶ of the Roman curia. Yet he is under no illusions with respect to the state of degradation into which the cardinalate had fallen. He seems to agree with the scathing denunciation which Hugo of Digne levelled at the church dignitaries who asked him for "rumores" from abroad (227f.). There is no more bitter passage in the Chronicle than this abusive attack upon the cardinals.

The ecclesiastical functionaries, Hugo told them to their faces, were as gossipy as the Athenians of old. Further, they

15 (continued)

and the privilege in question was granted early in his reign. Salimbene probably wrote this portion of his work, therefore, toward the latter part of 1288.

¹⁶The institution and history of the cardinalate, together with a complete list of all the cardinals of the Roman curia, are given in J. P. Migne (ed.), Dictionnaire des Cardinaux (Paris, 1857).

elevated their relatives to positions of honor, in order to exalt their own families and to increase their wealth. They did not hesitate to exclude worthy men from office, nor to give remunerative prebends to children. When Innocent IV conferred upon them the privilege of wearing the red hat, it was that they might be distinguished, when on horse-back, from the ordinary chaplains. Hugo continued:

You were not called 'cardinals' in ancient times, but your predecessors were merely deacons and presbyters of the Roman curia. This may be proved by an example: When pope Sylvester approached the leprous Constantine, no mention was made of cardinals, but it is said that he brought with him two deacons and five presbyters (228).¹⁷

Even the blessed Gregory, before he became pope, was called, not a "cardinal," but a deacon. Surely Joachim, abbot of Flora, was right in designating the prelates "carpinales," for they were experts at devouring, and exhausting, the purses of many. They falsely interpreted the Scriptures, particularly the passage I Samuel II:8, where, instead of reading "the corners ('cardines') of the earth," they substituted the phrase "the cardinals ('cardinales') of the earth."

One can but wonder, as the chronicler did (231), at Hugo's boldness.¹⁸ He hurled Scriptural invectives at his audience

¹⁷This interesting tale formed a part of the tradition associated with the so-called Donation of Constantine. The portions of the Donation which are found in Gratian's Decretum are available in C. B. Coleman, The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine (New Haven, 1922).

¹⁸Hugo's verbal encounter with the cardinals was possible only because he was addressing them at the invitation, and under the protection, of the pope (231).

with glad abandon and with telling force. When they welcomed a new cardinal, he asserted, they presented to him the official ring, with the assurance that he would now become a prince of the earth. They refused to work, but spent their time in going from their living quarters to the consistory, always with pomp and ceremony, and from the consistory to the dining-table, where they ate and drank like kings, and thence to bed. They loafed away their hours, played with their little dogs, and amused themselves with their jewelry, finery, and horses. They cared not for the pilgrim, nor for the hungry and naked. The cry of the poor did not move them to compassion, for they were not concerned about those who needed to be visited, or redeemed, or buried. Endowed with more faith than that granted to ordinary priests, they refused to go forth into the world to convert unbelievers, for they feared both poverty and death.

"Tell me," Hugo persisted, "who among you is enrolled in the catalogue of the saints? Indeed, Pope Damasus¹⁹ himself was accused by you of adultery, and Jerome fled ignominiously from your midst" (230).

The fact that Salimbene includes this diatribe in his volume suggests that he approved Hugo's bluntness, and enjoyed,

¹⁹This accusation of immorality was levelled at St. Damasus in the imperial court in 378 A. D. But the pontiff was cleared of the charge by Emperor Gratian, and later by a Roman synod composed of forty-four bishops. The synod excommunicated the pope's slanderers. See Mansi, op. cit., III, cols. 419, 628.

at least vicariously, the discomfiture of the cardinals. In another section of the Chronicle the author assures his niece that in the order of Francis there were at least a thousand Minors who, so far as knowledge and holiness of life were concerned, were far more suited to the cardinalate than were many whom the Roman pontiff had promoted to the high office out of family considerations (170). He then lists four of the pope's relatives who became cardinals. The first of these was Matheus Rubeus, nephew of Nicholas III, who became cardinal protector of the Minors in 1277. A second cardinal related to the pope was Jacobus de Columna, who, while a young student at Bologna, had visited the city of Ravenna. Salimbene was living in the town at the time, and had the pleasant task of escorting the visitor through the various sanctuaries within and without the city. A third cardinal of the papal family was Latinus, of the Dominican order, who, as legate to Lombardy, made the women of Bologna indignant by his regulations governing the length of their skirts. A fourth prelate whom the chronicler mentions was Lord Iordanus, brother of the pope, a man of little education or religious culture. All these cardinals were creatures of the papacy, Salimbene suggests with his tongue in his cheek, because flesh and blood had revealed their promotion to the pope!

There were, of course, good cardinals as well as bad ones. Cardinal Hugo of San Sabina, for example, was a Dominican

scholar, "venerable in life and knowledge." He was a doctor of theology, a man of sane doctrine and of great erudition, when Innocent IV raised him to the cardinalate. His conduct was praiseworthy until the day of his death (1175). Another cardinal of real worth had previously been archbishop of Embrun. He, too, was a man of honest and holy life, widely known for his skill in song (323). Thomas of Capua, appointed cardinal at the request of the Franciscans,²⁰ was a handsome and able "dictator" of the curia. He was the one who composed the letter which Honorius III sent to Frederick II, in which he accused the ruler of gross misdeeds, and reminded him of the help which the church had always given him. Lord Thomas was also a famous writer of hymns and responses (384). Salimbene refers frequently to cardinals who had befriended the mendicant orders. These men occupied a particularly warm spot in the friar's heart. Gerardus Albus, cardinal from Parma, made large donations to the Franciscans and Dominicans. He had a very beautiful dormitory built, at his own expense, for the order of St. Clare at Parma. The chronicler lists the amounts given by this generous church official to individual Minors,²¹ to the Parma cathedral, and to

²⁰The author is convinced that it was no coincidence that so many of the cardinals who protected the Franciscan order were elected to the papacy. He believes that this was done by divine grace and through the aid of St. Francis; although, of course, the holy lives of the men had something to do with the transaction (493).

²¹The fact that the mendicants accepted these gifts of money indicates a change in the Franciscan conception of absolute poverty. The Chronicle reflects this transformation, but Salimbene neither analyzes its nature nor traces its progress.

the Preachers of the city, to aid them in the construction of their church (597).

But over against these high-minded men, there were cardinals for whom Salimbene had no use whatever. When Urban IV promoted his "nephew" Angerus, for example, to the high ecclesiastical office, he was honouring a man who was so miserable a scholar that, as a young man at school, he had been condemned to carry meat from the storehouse for the benefit of his fellow students. The pontiff gave to this favourite more riches and honour than the other cardinals received, for, as later events proved, the despicable cardinal was actually his own son (170).

This information concerning the cardinals is gleaned from different sections of the Chronicle. When it comes to the papal legates, Salimbene has grouped together the twelve most important of these, and has described some of them at length (383-438).²² The monks of Cluny were outspoken in their condemnation of the legates' greed; but the chronicler tries to allow the record of the emissaries' deeds to speak for itself.

The first legate in his list was Lord Hugolinus, cardinal of the Minors, and later Gregory IX, a man concerning whom

²²G. G. Coulton, in his brochure (op. cit., pp. 5-15), presents a large portion of this passage. Concerning the legates Salimbene writes (438): "Isti supra positi fuerunt XII nobilissimi ecclesiastici principes et legati, quos in Lombardiam et Romagnolam misit ecclesia, non solum pro animarum salute, verum etiam et contra draconis astutiam, Fridericum scilicet, qui cum suis principibus et sequacibus conabatur subvertere ecclesiasticam libertatem et corrumpere fidelium unitatem."

Salimbene simply remarks that he did a great deal of good. The next was Lord Rainaldus, bishop of Ostia, whom Gregory created a cardinal at the request of the Minors, and who subsequently became Pope Alexander IV. His associate in Lombardy was cardinal Thomas of Capua, the celebrated "dictator" and composer of hymns. A fourth legate was cardinal Octavianus, handsome cleric from the diocese of Florence, and very popular with the imperial party (384). It was rumored that he was the son of Pope Gregory IX, for the pontiff seemed to love him especially. Once when the chronicler was at Lyons, cardinal Fieschi, nephew of Innocent IV, asked him what the Parmesans thought of Octavianus. The friar replied that it was commonly believed in his city that the legate would ultimately betray the church. Fieschi demurred at this opinion; and the writer sagely suggests, "Thus I regarded it as true, that, although some of the cardinals do not love one another, yet they defend each other, and appear, at least externally, to share a mutual love." Octavianus, it seems, was a very shrewd legate. Once during a solemn procession, a jokester in the crowd cried out, "Make way for a traitor of the Roman curia, who often deceives the church." Instead of turning in anger upon his accuser, the legate ordered one of his attendants to stop the man's mouth with a gift of money. The transaction was made, and now the recipient of the gift cried out with gusto that there was no better cardinal than Octavianus, and that he was worthy to be pope. A rumor was abroad

(386) that, when Innocent IV was about to die, he deposed Octavianus from the cardinalate, as one who was unfaithful to the church. When the legate saw that he was no longer in the papal favor, and that his misfortune was widely known, he employed a clever scheme to prove that he was still in good standing with the pontiff. Every day when the cardinals hastened home from the consistory, he lingered behind, so that all might believe that the pope had daily confidential discussions with him, and that thus his influence among the cardinals might increase.

A fifth legate whom Salimbene discusses was Gregorius of Monte-longo, who had originally been one of seven notaries in the Roman curia (388). This representative of the papacy laboured usually in Milan, Parma, and Ferrara. He was later transferred to the patriarchate of Aquileia, where he served faithfully for many years until his death. The chronicler asserts that he suffered from gout, and that he was not very chaste.²³ He was papal legate to Parma when the city was besieged in 1247; and during the struggle he proved himself to be a man of stout heart and of considerable skill in the science of warfare. When he heard that the Parmesans were murmuring because no aid came to them from without, he adopted a sly

²³The author adds, "Alicuius enim sue amasie noticiam habui. Sed multi clerici seculares, qui in dominio et in prelationibus sunt et in delitiis vivunt, parum de castitate curare videntur, et imponunt apostolo, quod dixerit: 'et si non caste, tamen caute.' Sed apostolus nec non dixit" (391, 392).

scheme to encourage their fainting spirits. He invited some of the noblest knights of the city to dinner. While all were busy eating, a messenger cried out at the door for entrance. One of the servants relayed the request with stentorian voice so that all might hear. Gregorius ordered the messenger to be admitted. The newcomer was dressed as a voyager; his shoes were covered with dust, and slung over his shoulder was a bag containing an important letter. The legate hastily took the letter and commanded the messenger to go aside to rest and eat. (This demonstration of sympathy was a ruse to prevent the dinner guests from asking questions of the visitor.) The letter was then read aloud: it stated that help was on the way. The knights passed on the joyful news, and the populace of Parma were delighted. Actually, Salimbene avows, the letter was forged in the legate's room the night before, for the churchman was ever on the alert to bring comfort to his people. He was always loyal to his high ecclesiastical ideals. Even when the emperor Frederick sought to win him to the imperial cause by making him tempting political offers, his efforts were in vain, for Gregorius could no more be diverted from his purposes than could the sun from its course (390).

Lord Philip, another legate to Lombardy, is described in the pages of the Chronicle. He was an interesting character. Salimbene states that he came from the province of Tuscany, and that as a poor young man he went to the city of Toledo to delve

into necromancy. A failure at this type of occult science, he journeyed to Paris to study. Thence he returned to Lombardy, and became chamberlain to Bishop Garsindinus of Ferrara. In due time he himself was chosen bishop of Ferrara, and subsequently archbishop of Ravenna. He early served as legate to Germany, where he supervised several provinces in which ultramontane Minors resided. The chronicler relates two of the legate's experiences with the Franciscans. In three of the provinces there were brethren who refused to keep the Rule of the order, or to obey their ministers. When they came to consult the legate about the matter, Philip took them and turned them over to the ministers for judgment. Later, when the landgrave under whose jurisdiction the legate was serving, died, Philip feared that Conrad would have him arrested, and determined to flee the country. Changing his clothes, and taking with him a sole companion, he came to the Minors' home and sought admission. The friars welcomed the visitors, provided them with clothing, and two brethren escorted them to the outskirts of the town, only to find the city gates locked. While the refugees were debating what course of procedure to follow, they saw a dog emerging from an opening under the third gate, and decided to make their exit through the same hole. Salimbene seems to enjoy the legate's predicament when the pompous churchman attempted to squeeze through the narrow aperture. The cleric was fat and could not pass through. The Minor who followed

him stepped on the recalcitrant portions of his frame, and thus, in most undignified fashion, Philip escaped. The legate never ceased to be grateful to the friars for this help, and also for the assistance rendered to him at Franciscan homes along the path of his flight. He later presented the church of St. Peter Maiores (at Ravenna) to the Minors, and showered upon them especial privileges.

The chronicler writes that Philip was more interested in war than he was in relics (400). He always had with him forty armed men, guardians of his person. Men feared him as they did the devil, for he was heartless and cruel. Once when he was travelling by ship to Argenta, he had one of his followers bound, thrown overboard, and dragged through the water, merely because the luckless creature had forgotten to bring the salt. Again, he had a servant bound to a stake and turned, as on a spit, before the fire. He was guilty of many other cruelties, for he wished always to incite fear.

Lord Philip had two "nephews," Francis and Philip. The latter was as handsome as Absalom, and was in reality the legate's son. The author writes that Philip loved this boy as his own soul (399), and that whoever gave gifts to the two young men could receive from their "uncle" whatever they desired. The archbishop had a handsome daughter, too, whom he wished to marry to Jacobus of Bernardo. But the young noble refused to

take her to wife, for three reasons: in the first place, she was the legate's illegitimate child; in the second place, the young man had no desire to accept ecclesiastical goods as dowry; and, lastly, he expected to enter the Franciscan order, which, much to Philip's chagrin, he actually did (400).

The legate, our chronicler states, loved honors, and was always eager to lord it over his subordinates. The abbess of the convent of St. Clare at Faventia once wished to consult him about some important matter, and he used his visit as an occasion for the display of pomp and ostentation. Salimbene was one of the ten friars who accompanied him on the mission. He describes in ludicrous detail Philip's formal preparations for entering the convent, and, in particular, his fury when he discovered that the shirt which he was trying to put on belonged to the bishop of Faenza, and was far too tight for his own corpulent figure. When the little company reached the threshold of the convent, they discovered a bowl smoking with incense. Philip sprayed himself with the sacred contents, and, in turn, he sprinkled the friars, saying solemnly three times, "Incense for my brothers."

There is perhaps no passage in the Chronicle which is more typical of Salimbene's style than the extended portion in which he emphasizes Lord Philip's eccentricities. The writer is more interested in the legate's idiosyncrasies than in his achievements. He never tells his niece the subject matter of the

conversation between the abbess and the legate. But he portrays in vivid fashion Philip's absurd invitation to the friars to dine with him after they had all left the convent. While he was undressing, the legate recited at least ten times, in the Tuscan dialect, the words "I invite you, I reinvite you." One suspects that the church official had been imbibing too freely, for the chronicler admits elsewhere that Philip was a great drinker. The legate had a beautiful palace in Argenta; he was in the habit of strolling leisurely through it, singing the praises of the Virgin, and pausing occasionally at the corners of the building to sip from goblets of cool and refreshing wine. Philip had many convictions, but one of the strongest of these was that water should never be mixed with wine (430).

The archbishop had a great ambition: he longed to be pope. He once asked certain friars who were with him, "Do you want me to prophesy concerning the future pontiff?" The brethren were eager to hear his opinion, and the legate continued, "Gregory IX greatly loved the Minors. Gregory X will succeed him, and will love them dearly too." Salimbene, who was in the audience, remarks that Philip had reference to himself. The legate had high hopes that he might become pope for four reasons: he had proved his devotion to the Franciscans; the necromancer in Toledo had predicted that he would achieve greatness in the church of God; there was disagreement among the cardinals; and the people were mentioning him as a strong candidate for the high office. The shrewd chronicler replied to

Philip, "God grant that you may be Gregory X. You do love our order, and you will love us yet more" (401). The sequel to this prophecy took place when Pope Urban IV died in 1264. One day when Salimbene was dining in Argenta, he sent word to the legate that the pontiff had passed away. The chronicler had just arrived from Ravenna and had brought the news with him. When the archbishop heard the tidings he rejoiced, and sent the friar a sea fish as a reward for bringing the news. Three times the legate's messenger returned for reassurance that Urban was really dead, and each time he brought the friar a reward. At length Salimbene said, "If you want definite proof, go to the ship which is lying at anchor in the Po. In it there is a Minor who is ill. He has just come from the curia, and was present at the burial of the pope." The messenger hastened down to the river, and left the chronicler to eat his meal in peace. When Philip was finally convinced that the pontiff was dead, he hastened to send the word to Ferrara. Salimbene writes that the reason he acted so quickly was that honor always accrues to the first reporter of news (433).

The next legate mentioned in the Chronicle is Martin of Parma, whom Innocent IV had made bishop of Mantua. He was a courtly, humble, generous churchman, and was sent into Lombardy to preach the cross and to ordain other preachers. The author is impressed by his liberality. The legate travelled with eighty followers, and actually wanted to defray their expenses when he passed through Mantua on his way to the curia (434).

This was an extraordinary exhibition of generosity. Whenever Martin dined, he ordered the waiters to bring in two plates of every sort of food on the menu; he ate from one plate and poured out the contents of the second into a platter for the poor. The chronicler once visited the bishop in Ravenna, and had a strange conversation with him. The legate asked, "Do you believe, brother Salimbene, that we bishops can be saved, with all our labours and anxieties, due to our subordinates and our flocks, unless you Religious, who are so intimately united with God, help us with your mantles and hoods?" The friar comforted the distraught bishop through the use of appropriate passages of Scripture, and Martin thanked him for his sympathy and understanding (435).

Another legate was the archbishop of Embrun, noted for his musical compositions and for his ability to sing. He was succeeded by a chaplain, whose ambition it was to have soldiers in every city in northern Italy to help Charles of Anjou in his struggle against Prince Manfred. When he came to Faenza to gather troops for Charles, he assembled the mendicants in the bishop's palace and addressed them with a few pointed remarks. The ubiquitous Salimbene was on hand as usual, and gives an outline of the legate's speech. First the chaplain bitterly cursed Manfred; he then predicted the early arrival of the French army and asserted that Charles would soon triumph over his foe (436). The next chaplain legate was also a man of action: he brought about the re-entrance of the exiled church

party into Cremona and expelled the leaders of the imperial forces from the city. After him came young cardinal Latinus, who was elevated to his position of high dignity by Pope Nicholas III, to whom he was related. Salimbene singles out for description only one of Latinus' deeds: the legate aroused the ladies of Lombardy to anger by his regulations concerning their clothing. He took away their cherished privilege of wearing long trains to their dresses, and decreed that all women should go about with veiled faces. He then ordered the new style to be proclaimed throughout the churches, and forbade priests to absolve any woman who disobeyed the law (169). The ordinary chronicler would have let the matter rest there. But not Salimbene. He states that these regulations were more bitter than death to the fair sex, and that the ladies decorated their veils with silk and gold cloth--a device which made the wearers ten times more attractive, and prompted those who saw them to lasciviousness (170): "*Nam vela faciebant fieri de bisso et serico, auro intexta, cum quibus in decuplum melius apparebant et magis ad lasciviam videntium oculos attrahebant.*"

Lord Bernardus, cardinal from Provence, is the last in the chronicler's list of legates. He was sent by Martin IV into Lombardy and Romagna for the purpose of restoring peace and order to the area. The pope spent immense sums of money to help the legate achieve his goal, but the mission met with little permanent success (437).

Salimbene has definite ideas on the subject of ecclesiastical potentates--their virtues and their vices, the manner in which they performed their official duties, and their treatment of subordinates. In the course of his busy life the friar became acquainted with a number of bishops and archbishops. His opinion concerning these dignitaries is based upon first-hand observation or upon reliable information. He has much to say about the characteristics and careers of leading bishops of his day.

He sometimes simply lists the names of these church leaders, and describes each with a few words. In the case of Parma, for example, he tells his niece the names of all the bishops from the early thirteenth century until the days of Lord Opizo, who occupied the office at Salimbene's death (68, 69). The bishopric, it appears, was occasionally presented as a gift to some churchman who had pleased the pope, or to one who was related to the pontiff. Boniface of Parma, a Preacher, was consecrated bishop of Ravenna by Gregory X, not because the pope loved the Dominicans, but because the mendicant was related to him (83). When Nicholas, bishop of Reggio, died, two opposing candidates were elected to fill out his office. Pope Innocent IV settled the controversy by choosing the man who was related to himself, William of Foliano (176). But although the office of bishop was sometimes unwisely bestowed in the interests of papal patronage, the episcopacy was no sinecure. The bishop's life was

likely to be strenuous, to say the least, and he often found himself in grave danger. Bishop Guidhottus of Mantua was murdered by a political party in his city (88). William of Poliano, bishop of Reggio, fled the city when the Guelf-Ghibelline struggle became too furious (141). Matheus, bishop of Modena, was expelled from his diocese by the Imperial party, and found refuge in the Minors' home at Faenza (421). Many a churchman of high rank was doomed to a life of wandering when Frederick II was at the height of his power.

Some of the bishops whom Salimbene mentions were originally members of the mendicant orders. Brother Jerome, one of the leaders of the Minors, became bishop of Palestrina; and Brother Benceven, also a Franciscan, was promoted to the bishopric of Alba (498). But the chronicler makes it clear that when Minors and Preachers became bishops, it was usually on account of some family relationship, and not because the orders were in high favor. "The cathedral canons," he writes, "care little to have Religious prelates over them, even if these are known to shine in life and doctrine; for they fear lest they be scolded when they wish to live in carnality" (640).

The bishops themselves were often guilty of vice. The dark shadow of sin frequently fell across their paths. Our author tells of a diocesan leader who was guilty of the most flagrant lasciviousness. The transgressor was an old man, and when he was suffocated by one of his relatives, Salimbene attended his funeral (426, 427). The wicked cleric was

succeeded by a young Preacher, who received the office through nepotism and corruption, and who so aroused the citizens of Faenza that he was driven from the city in abject terror (487). William of Foliano was bishop of Reggio for nearly forty years. Salimbene describes him as a greedy, illiterate man. The passage of the Chronicle which presents his portrait is picturesque (517, 518). Lord William was fat and stupid. The author thinks that he would have made a better leper or swineherd than a church official. "*Melius fuisset ei, si fuisset porcarius vel leprosus, quam quia fuit episcopus.*" He amassed a large fortune and spent it fastidiously in banqueting and luxury. He closed the bowels of his mercy toward the poor and robbed orphans and widows. When he ended his days, he left nothing to the Religious, and did not even provide food for the poor Minors who attended his funeral. Salimbene was one of these neglected friars, and bears witness to the fact that the wicked prelate deserved to be buried in filth, and that actually a dog barked over the freshly interred corpse.

But there were also bishops who were ecclesiastical lights. The chronicler tries his best to be fair to his church friends. St. Germanus, head of the diocese of Altisiodorum, was a bright constellation, a "rainbow through the clouds" (214). Bishop Rolandus had studied for years at Paris, when Pope Nicholas III elevated him to the bishopric of Spoleto. The churchman was originally from Parma, and he devoted large sums of money to

building a beautiful chapel in the city, in which masses would be said on suitable days for the souls of his father, mother, and other relatives. This was the cleric whom Martin IV sent to France to investigate the miracles of St. Louis. He performed his task so well that the pope rewarded him by giving him a more influential bishopric in France. Unfortunately Rolandus did not live to enjoy his new position (595, 596). Salimbene knew many a bishop who was altogether worthy and unselfish. He tells about a lector who was so beloved that, when the episcopal office became vacant, he was unanimously elected bishop. The humble soul betook himself to Lyons and begged the pope to release him from his new duties. But the holy father, hearing of the man's knowledge and sanctity, refused his request, and personally consecrated him to the high office, with the chronicler as usual an interested bystander.

The Liber de Prelatis, which forms an integral part of the Chronicle (96-163), contains Salimbene's conception of the moral conditions of the prelacy of his day, and presents his idea of what virtues should characterize all churchmen in positions of authority.

A prelate, the friar writes, should have at least three virtues: he should be wise, for a foolish churchman is like a crowned ass (122); he should live a holy life, for without sanctity all erudition is futile; and he should have good manners ("mores"). But many church leaders fell far short of these high standards. Some were just as guilty of levity as they

were before their election (149). Others were greedy, unfair, and cruel to their subordinates (118). The chronicler insists that it was often well-nigh impossible to find holy prelates (115), and that one reason for the immoral conditions among the clergy was the fact that most church officials were elected by men, and not divinely appointed to their tasks (155).

The situation among the higher church officials was reflected in the ranks of the lesser clergy.²⁴ Salimbene's Chronicle mirrors the degradation in which the priesthood of the thirteenth century was so often steeped. The friar looked upon the average priest as fat and oily, enriched, not through the wealth of his relatives or by the labor of his own hands, but through the patrimony of Jesus Christ and by the sweat of the poor (418). He writes that he found certain priests given to usury and bestowing their gains upon their bastards. Others frequented taverns, sold wine, and had their homes full of

²⁴Salimbene's frankness in attacking the ignorance and immorality of the clergy was no new thing in the middle ages. The church herself was aware of the situation. The Synod of Avignon, 1209, referred to "the culpable negligence of the prelates, rather mercenaries than shepherds." The edicts of church councils reflected the moral defections of the clergy. The decrees attacked simony, fraud, usury, oppressive taxation, concubinage, drunkenness, and other sins. See Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 178-182, 197-202, 221-224, 255-257, for canons of the first four Lateran Councils dealing with this unsavoury theme. Among other councils which dealt with the subject were the German Council (in 1225), the Council of Narbonne (in 1227), and the Council of Trèves (in 1227). The decrees of these councils are available in Mansi, op. cit., IXIII, cols. 2, 3, 6, 22, 23, 24, 34, 36. A realistic description of the situation is found in G. A. Prevost, L'église et les campagnes au moyen âge (Paris, 1892).

illegitimate children. They committed adultery at night and celebrated mass the next morning (425). They mistreated the consecrated Host, and were guilty of other disgraceful crimes. The clothing in which they worshipped was filthy and unbecoming; their vessels were of rusty tin; and the wine they used was cheap and sour. Many women had better shoe-strings than the priests' sashes or stoles. One day when a Minor was to celebrate in the church of a certain cleric, he had to borrow a garment which belonged to the priest's mistress. He did not notice that a bunch of keys was attached to the cloth; and when the innocent friar turned to say, "The Lord be with you," the congregation heard the jingling of the keys.

The priests were ignorant as well as immoral. They were unworthy to preach to the people, for they had no wisdom with respect to the salvation of souls committed to their care. They had no genuine learning, but had taken themselves to the daughters of Beth, i.e. to the secular sciences, ". . . et ad hoc student in decretalibus et decretis, ut possint multiplicare divitias et prebendas" (412).

Salimbene states repeatedly that the priests defiled their holy office by forcing their women worshippers into sin. The archbishop of Ravenna denounced the wicked clerics to their faces at a church council in his city, accusing them openly of soliciting innocent women to evil even behind the sacred altar (403). The chronicler relates several stories which must have been current gossip in his day, dealing with the shameful

conduct of secular priests. He writes that a woman once came to a Minor and told him that she was unhappy. When asked the reason for her misery, she replied that a certain man had taken advantage of her and compelled her to sin. She had confessed the misdeed to three different priests, and each in turn had betrayed her confidence and lured her into further shame. The Minor absolved the unhappy wretch, and then, noticing that she held a knife in her hand, asked why she carried the weapon. The woman replied, "To kill myself with if you should invite me to sin as the other priests have done." The friar responded, "I invite you to Paradise, which the Lord will give you if you show your love to him by doing penance" (411).

Of course the chronicler was a friar, and there was often keen rivalry between the secular clergy and the mendicant orders. His version of these stories of vice may be unduly biased. But the total picture which he presents of the organizational life of the church, both of the higher clergy and of the ordinary priesthood, makes it clear that, in his century at least, sin abounded in high places. The cleric whose character shone with the light of purity and unselfishness was seen against a dark background of corruption and greed. Salimbene never wavers in his devotion to the church as a living, divinely established, and eternally enduring organism. But he is certain that the ecclesiastical institution had wandered far from the absolute standards of Christ, its Ruler and Head.

The heart of the thirteenth century church was its

sacramental system. The chronicler has no fault to find with the ritual as such, although he denounces sternly the clergy who administered the sacraments in unworthy fashion, and makes several suggestions as to the improvement of the liturgy.²⁵ But along with its sacraments, the church emphasized more and more the art of preaching;²⁶ and Salimbene has much to say about this method of extending the influence of the gospel.

For centuries prior to the friar's day, preaching had been rather neglected. But the resurgence of spiritual and

²⁵The author notes that there were still superfluities in the Roman Catholic services of worship (31). It was tedious for the congregations to have to wait while the priests recited their own masses; and the use of eighteen Psalms before the Te Deum was boring, especially in the summertime, when insects bit the worshippers. An excellent bibliography on the Roman liturgy is found in Sagnüller, op. cit., II, 244, 245. The Franciscans had a profound influence upon the development of the Liturgy. St. Francis permitted the use of Breviaries. See II Reg., 3. The Minors popularized a modified Breviary which Pope Gregory IX had authorized; and under their influence the parts of the Missal were selected and arranged. Consult articles "Breviary" and "Missal", in The Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 768-777, and X, 354-357. See also Fortescue, op. cit., pp. 189, 190; P. Battifol, Leçons sur la messe (Paris, 1907); and A. Cabrol, The Books of the Latin Liturgy (London, 1932), pp. 113-117.

²⁶The subject of medieval preaching has been treated in C. Smyth, The Art of Preaching (London, 1940); and J. M. Neale, Mediaeval Preachers and Mediaeval Preaching (A Series of Extracts, Translated from the Sermons of the Middle Ages) (London, 1856). For the Minors' emphasis on preaching, see A. Zawart, The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (New York, 1927). An excellent description of Berthold of Regensburg is given in R. Cruel, Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter (Detmold, 1879), pp. 306-322. For a discussion of the medieval science of preaching see T. M. Charland, Artes Praedicatorum (Paris, 1936). In this volume note especially the works of Robert of Basevorn and Thomas Waleys, both of which deal with the art of homiletics (pp. 227-403). The type of sermon delivered at the universities is illustrated in M. M. Davy, Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-1231 (Paris, 1931).

intellectual interests in the thirteenth century gave new impetus to the work of the pulpit. The spread of heresies, the appeal of the crusades, the revival of letters, and the emergence of the mendicant orders, particularly of the Preachers, raised the standards of pulpiteering to a new level. The author of the Chronicle preached occasionally himself,²⁷ and he recognizes the place of religious oratory in arousing the people to spiritual conviction and action. He moralizes on the subject of preaching, describes the leading preachers of his period, and relates several illuminating incidents concerning the pulpit.

Preaching, Salimbene feels, is to be done only by those who have been commissioned to the task (279). It pertains to men only, and not to women (81). It is an art to be wisely cultivated, for the sermon is not to be recited like a psalm which one has learned by heart (234). The friar notes that widely varied subjects were treated by preachers:²⁸ one was

²⁷He writes, for example, that he saw French troops coming to the aid of King Charles "when I was going to St. Proculus of Faenza to preach in the feast of St. John the Evangelist" (470).

²⁸Sermon manuals and other homiletical material were available to the medieval preacher. Handbooks containing outlines of sermons were often used. The manual entitled Dormi Secure suggested that the homilist who postponed his work of preparation until Saturday night might still rest peacefully. A splendid discussion of this theme is found in G. R. Cwst, Preaching in Medieval England (An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period, c. 1350-1450) (Cambridge, 1926), ch. VII; L. Bourgain, La Chaire française au XIII^e siècle (d'après les manuscrits) (Paris, 1879); J. A. Mosher, The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England (New York, 1911). The structure of medieval sermons is analyzed in Charland, op. cit., pp. 107-226.

adept in the use of proverbs, fables, and exempla²⁹ (163); others dealt with the wonders of Paradise, with contempt for the world³⁰ (234), or with more mundane themes, such as the death of Frederick II (174), the legitimacy of sporting during Lent (631), or the length of a woman's train (169). Books of sermons were available to would-be preachers. One of the intimate friends of John of Parma, for example, had written a volume of messages dealing with the feasts and seasons (553). Brother William the Dominican had composed a little set of sermons (233); and Brother Mauricius, a Minor, told Salimbene that he hoped to write a work of "distinctions" which would be of value in preaching (237).

The great "Alleluia" of 1233 was largely the result of preaching; and, in turn, it produced fiery orators. Morning, noon, and night that year the word of the Lord was proclaimed in Parma. Crowds streamed into the city, men and women, boys and girls, with open hearts and floating banners, to sit at

²⁹These were illustrative tales which often adorned medieval sermons. A comprehensive yet detailed discussion of the subject is presented in the classic, J. T. Welter, L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge (Paris, 1927). The history of the use of exempla is given in the Introduction to T. F. Crane, The Exempla, or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry, the Folk-Lore Society, 26 (London, 1890). An excellent thesis on the theme is G. W. Jones, Preaching Emphases in the 'Exempla' of Jacques de Vitry, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the Divinity School of Duke University, 1944.

³⁰This was always a popular subject in the middle ages. One of the most effective sermons of Pope Innocent III was entitled "De contemptu mundi." It was often a refreshing source of inspiration, as well as a challenge to holy living, to reflect upon

the feet of the proclaimers of the truth (70). Among the renowned preachers during this "devotion" was Brother Benedictus of Cornetta, an illiterate but holy man, attired like John the Baptist, who blew his horn and attracted a multitude of children, and preached the gospel of God. He spoke in the language of the people, and the children repeated his solemn phrases after him (71). Other men of renown were Brother John of Bologna and Brother Jacob of Reggio, both Dominican orators. John was uneducated, but famous for the miracles he performed (72). Jacob was a lector in theology, and drew large crowds through his zeal and eloquence. Once he preached a magnificent sermon to a vast throng of people in the diocese of Parma. During the service a baby boy was born and, at the preacher's request, the poor mother was showered with gifts by the members of the congregation (73). Brother Girardus of Modena was a greatly beloved man of God, and longed to tour the world preaching as he went (75). Brother Bartholomew of Vicenza, a Dominican, and Brother Leo of Milan, a Minor, were also effective pulpiteers when the religious agitation was at its height (74). The demand for good preaching was so strong in 1233 that the preachers gathered together and agreed on the hours when they would preach and the themes they would use. The identity of the subjects employed throughout the area astounded the people, who were amazed at

30 (continued)

the glories of the coming age, and upon the relative unimportance of current temptations and tribulations.

the "miracle". Many of them forsook their daily duties, and entered the mendicant orders (76, 77).

But of all the preachers to whom Salimbene refers, five seem to be outstanding.³¹

Brother Hugo Paucis-Palea, an earnest friar, confounded the antagonists of the Minors by his eloquence. The people heard him gladly for he was a ready speaker; but the prelates of the church despised him, because he was more quick-witted than they, and confused them with his proverbs and exempla. In one public debate he utterly put to rout a scholar of Forlì who called himself a philosopher and astrologer and who vituperated the Franciscan order (163).

Brother Hugo of Digne was another preacher of keen insight and genuine power. His sermons at Siena and at the Synod of Lucca were long remembered (234). He was heard as gladly as John the Baptist, or as the man Christ Jesus³² (235), for his words were "edifying, useful, mellifluous, and salutary." He, too, was a confounder of false thinkers (235). The philosopher

³¹An interesting phenomenon reported by the chronicler was the preaching of young men and boys. On one occasion a youthful sectarian, who was preaching in a local cathedral, astounded Brother Bonaventura de Yseo, who was holding forth at the same hour in the Minors' chapel. The eloquent Franciscan saw some of his congregation get up and leave. Upon inquiry, he learned that they were making haste to get seats in the cathedral, for the younger orator was immensely popular (266).

³²The reference is to Jesus in his human capacity as preacher and teacher on the hill-sides of Galilee.

Rainerius, a Pisan who dwelt in the court of the Count of Provence, was adept in confounding the doctors and judges of the district. The disgruntled professional men called Hugo to their defense and a day of disputation was arranged. A distinguished assembly gathered for the debate. The knights, counts, and judges were delighted when the preacher completely outwitted his opponent and caused him to leave the court in shame. Thus, the chronicler adds, did Brother Hugo free the poor who had no helper.

A third preacher of considerable reputation was John of Parma. Salisbone reports the minister-general's stirring sermon delivered in defense of the Franciscans in the presence of the scholars and masters of the University of Paris (299f.).³³ The message was beautiful and deeply spiritual. But what seems particularly to have impressed the friar was the exemplum with which the minister closed his address. A great and powerful

³³The fact that the Minors had to be defended at Paris is significant. The university scholars objected to the developing trends in the Franciscan movement. An excellent summary of the exceptions which the University took to the mendicant orders is found in a Letter against the friars which the institution addressed to "prelates of the church and to scholars generally" in 1253. This has been published in H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis (Paris, 1894-97), I, 252-58, and is available in translation in L. Thorndike, University Records and Life in the Middle Ages (New York, 1944), pp. 56-64. The University objected, among other things, to the facts that the mendicants on the Paris faculty refused to take the oath of obedience to the University, and that they would not suspend their lectures in the "great dispersion" of 1229-1231.

king, John said, set out in his garden a noble plant which many tried to uproot. But the monarch stationed a guard over the garden to protect the plant from harm. The king represented God, the heavenly gardener; the garden was the church, or the religion of St. Francis. The preacher continued:

He received the plant from you, for you are our masters and lords. . . . If you wish to uproot the plant, you may do so, unless the Planter opposes you. For whom the Father plants cannot be rooted out. . . . I am merely the minister-general, insufficient to my task, and unworthily selected contrary to my will. You are our lords and masters; we are your servants, sons, and disciples. . . . I submit myself and those under my hand to your discipline and correction. . . . Do with us what is right and good.

Brother Stephanus of England was another famous preacher. Once when he was visiting Marseilles he asked the guardian of the Minors' home whether he might preach to the brothers at the feast of St. Francis. The guardian replied that he would gladly hear him, but that he was afraid of offending the bishop who would probably be present for the feast (313). When the church official arrived, it was arranged that he should preach to the people on Ascension Day, and that Stephanus should have his chance the night following. Accordingly, when the Englishman's turn arrived, he mounted the rostrum, in the presence of the bishop, and uttered words as sweet as honey. But he could not resist the temptation of citing an exemplum, to the confusion of the prelate. A holy Minor in England, it seemed, once said concerning an Easter candle, that it shone when it was lighted in the church, but that it went out and stank as soon as it was

covered with the extinguisher (324). The lesson applied to any Franciscan: when he was on fire, burning with love of God in the order of St. Francis, he shone well and gave light to others. "But yesterday at dinner time," the preacher continued, "I reflected on this, and wondered how our bishop could tolerate it that his brethren should genuflect before him when they passed him the food. The words of the English brother fit him exactly." During this verbal attack the bishop groaned, and at the end of the sermon he asked the custodian on bended knee for permission to speak. With a few noble remarks he confessed his shortcomings, and admitted that he had once been a bright and shining candle in the Franciscan order.

But of all the pulpit orators whom Salimbene discusses none could compare with the great Bertholdus of Germany. This holy Minor of Regensburg was the supreme spell-binder of his age. The chronicler asserts that he had received from God the special gift of preaching (559). All who heard him agreed that from the days of the apostles of Christ there was none like him among the Germans. "Et dicunt omnes qui eum audiverunt, quod ab apostolis usque ad dies nostros in lingua Theotonica non fuit similis illi." Multitudes of men and women followed him, sometimes as far as sixty or a hundred miles. He used a wooden tower as his pulpit when he preached in the open fields. On the top of the tower a pennant hung, so that the people might know the direction of the wind and choose their seats accordingly. Thus the orator had no acoustics problem. When he preached

on the subjects of Antichrist and world judgment the people trembled and besought him to desist, for they were horribly burdened at the sound of his denunciatory words. Bertholdus soon became a legendary character, and our author tells us a few of his exploits (560f.).

One day when the friar was scheduled to preach, an ox-driver asked his lord for permission to hear the sermon. The master, who planned to attend the service himself, refused, and ordered his servant to plow instead. Early in the morning, when the driver had commenced his arduous toil, he heard the voice of the preacher thirty miles away. At once he unharnessed the oxen and sat down to listen to the message. Later he asked his master about the sermon. Although he had been in the congregation the man could not repeat the message. But the driver recited it from beginning to end and explained that he had heard it while in the field. The master, recognizing this to be a miracle, gave his servant permission to go hear Brother Bertholdus whenever he wished no matter how much work there was to be done.

It was the noted preacher's custom to announce his preaching schedule in advance, so that his audiences could be sure to provide themselves with adequate food. But at least in one instance this system failed. A certain noble lady, inflamed by a great desire to hear Bertholdus preach, followed him for six consecutive years, and yet could never have a private interview with him. When the period was ended, all her money was used

up, and at length she found an occasion to tell the Minor of her plight. Truly sympathetic, the preacher sent her to a rich banker ("campsor") with the message that he should give her as much money for her food and expenses as one day of indulgences was worth. When the banker pled ignorance of the amount of money this entailed, the lady was ready with an answer. Bertholdus, she said, had requested the banker to put money on one side of a pair of scales to balance the weight of the woman's breath when she should blow on the other side. The banker complied with this odd request, and the lady began to blow. Then a miracle took place: the more money was added to the balances, the heavier did the breath become, "for the Holy Spirit made it so heavy that it simply could not be raised by the weight of the money." The onlookers reported to Bertholdus the extraordinary phenomenon, and the banker experienced a spiritual conversion.

The Minor's eloquence pierced even the blackest heart. The chronicler relates (561) that the friar and his companions were out for a walk one evening when they were captured by assassins and imprisoned in a mountain fortress. The captain of the blackguards, a notorious criminal, decided that the prisoners should be put to death. But when he learned that Bertholdus was one of his victims, he fell at the orator's feet, embraced and kissed him, and begged him to preach to him. The friar consented on condition that all the bandits assemble to hear the sermon. The captain agreed and Bertholdus retired for

prayer. The preacher's most intimate companion warned him to tone down his message, for the chieftain of the villains was known for his cruelty. But Bertholdus preached with such power and unction that all his audience was moved to tears, and one by one the murderers confessed their sins. The Minor told them to abandon their hiding-place, to restore their ill-gotten gains, and to persevere in penitence all their lives. The captain prostrated himself at Bertholdus' feet, and pled to be received into the Minors. The preacher granted his request, and then forbade him to go out into the world on account of the fury of the people, who had heard nothing of the robber's conversion. But the captain could not resist Bertholdus' preaching. When the friar reached the city the rabble gathered in the river bed to hear him hold forth. Filled with divine love, the ex-robber rushed to the scene and joined the congregation. The people, recognizing the public enemy, seized him and led him to the gallows. Bertholdus noticed the hubbub and knew that something unusual was afoot; for, as a rule, no one left while he was still preaching. He learned that his friend was about to be hanged, hastened to intervene, but arrived at the gallows just too late to save his convert. The body of the unfortunate man was at once taken down, and a card, engraved with golden letters of Scripture, was discovered around the broken neck. Bertholdus sent for the Minors of the city monastery, and the Franciscans granted their deceased brother a decent burial.

The pulpit was a potent instrument for righteousness in the middle ages. The church employed it widely in sending forth her message to sinful men. But preaching was utilized as a telling weapon, not only against sin, but also against another powerful and subtle enemy of the souls of men, heresy.³³ The Dominicans, preaching mendicants of the thirteenth century, cultivated the art of homiletics with the definite purpose of proclaiming the truth and refuting error, and because of their zeal and effectiveness they were soon known as the "watch-dogs of the papacy."

Chief among the errors which the Dominicans fought was Catharism,³⁴ commonly known as the Albigensian heresy. This form of unbelief was spreading rapidly in Salimbene's day. It had a strong appeal for the masses, for it claimed to be original Christianity, and to reestablish the cultus and doctrine of the

³³The phrase "Lights and Shadows" used in the title of this chapter has a double reference. It implies that the church of the thirteenth century was characterized by vices as well as by virtues. But it also connotes the fact that Salimbene merely touches upon certain important themes, rather than portraying them in clear and definite outline. He never describes in detail, for example, the heretical movements of his day, or the crusades, which exercised so powerful an influence for many years.

³⁴The origin, nature, and spread of this heretical movement are described in Warner, op. cit., I, 12f.; Luchaire, op. cit., II, 11, 12; G. G. Coulton, Inquisition and Liberty (London, 1938), pp. 91, 92; H. Belloc, The Great Heresies (New York, 1938), p. 155. Church decrees against the heresy are given in Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 234, 242f.; in Hefele and Leclercq, op. cit., V, part II (1913); or in H. C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages (New York, 1901), I, 7. Of especial value is G. Mollat (ed.), Manuel de l'Inquisiteur (Paris, 1926), vols. I and II. This is a first-hand report of inquisitorial methods and ideals, together with an evaluation of the cardinal doctrine of Catharism.

primitive church.³⁵ It abolished all thought of purgatory or hell and insisted that the earth is the place of penitence and punishment. Its emphasis on Christ the creature, a mere angel of the first rank, relieved the people of many dogmatic difficulties. The austere life of the Perfecti was a refreshing contrast to the worldliness of so many of the Roman priests; but only the Perfecti had to undergo this rigorism, for the ordinary credenti were allowed to marry and to take part in the life of the community. Thousands in the Roman Catholic Church welcomed this escape from the church of their fathers, and Catharism was fast becoming a haven of refuge for disillusioned people.

The chronicler enters into no detailed explanation of the nature and growth of this heretical phenomenon. But he is mindful of the fact that the dark shadow of skepticism and unbelief hovered near the church. As a loyal Catholic he is astounded that there should be any heretics, especially in the light of the clear revelation of the Bible on the subject (460). He refers only once to the "Manicheans," asserting that they are worse than the devil (414).³⁶ He tells of the death of a bishop,

³⁵A detailed exposition of the doctrines of Catharism is given in J. Guiraud, Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Âge: Origines de l'Inquisition dans le Midi de la France Cathares et Vaudois (Paris, 1935), vol. I.

³⁶The basis of this assertion is the fact that the heretics, according to the chronicler, said that all visible things were created by the devil; but the devil himself insisted (Luke 4:6) that they were handed over to him. Thus he had accepted them from one greater than he.

who died as a heretic in Mantua. The cleric confessed that he had accepted the high office only because it would bring him money and honor; and in the hour of his passing, he refused to partake of the Communion, on the ground that he did not believe in the efficacy of the sacrament (69). The chronicler mentions several persons who opposed the Catharist error: Brother Leo, a Minor, persecuted the heretics, and later became archbishop of Milan (74); Brother Peter, a Dominican from Perugia, was slain by the unbelievers against whose infidelity he had preached (175); and Brother Philip, a Franciscan inquisitor of the heretics, had seized and destroyed many of them (437). It is clear from the Chronicle that the ordinary people in the cities did not always sympathize with the efforts of the Religious to persecute the Catharists. In the town of Parma, for example, the Dominicans had a woman and her accomplice burned as heretics (501). The Parmesans rose up against the mendicants and forced them all to leave the city (504). Cardinal Latinus, the papal legate, had once been a Dominican; he excommunicated the citizens of Parma, and it was almost three years before their church privileges were restored to them (507).

But while heresy kept the church busy on the mainland of Europe, the Moslems in North Africa and the Near East occupied a large share of her attention too. The crusades against these insidious foes were prompted by a mixture of motives. Politics, romance, commerce, and many other interests played their part

in the campaigns which were launched in the thirteenth century to overthrow the infidel and to recapture the Holy Land. But originally the crusades were a religious enterprise;³⁷ and Salimbene, whose father had crossed the sea long before the chronicler's birth (37), is deeply interested in all that relates to the movement.

As a little boy the author of the Chronicle must have sat in rapt attention while his father told him about the beauty of his war horse, or about the superstitious Lombards across the sea who inquired of diviners the state of their families' health (37).³⁸ Somewhere the friar had learned about the

³⁷That this is true is clearly shown in the speech of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont (in 1095), when the first crusade was launched. This address is available in Mansi, op. cit., XX, cols. 824-827. See D. C. Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont, 1095," in the American Historical Review, XI (Jan., 1906), 231-242. The literature on the crusades is extensive. It is summarized in Ficker and Hermelink, op. cit., II, 83-90, 106, 117, 129. Of particular value are A. C. Krey, The First Crusade (Princeton, 1921); M. E. McGinty, Fulcher of Chartres: Chronicle of the First Crusade (In Penna. Univ. Dept. of Hist. Translations and reprints. Third series. Vol. I. Phila., 1941); E. H. McNeal (trans.), Robert of Clari: the Conquest of Constantinople (In Records of civilization, vol. XXIII, New York, 1936); M. J. Hubert (trans.), Ambroise: the Crusade of Richard Lion-heart (New York, 1941); see also G. de Villehardouin, La conquête de Constantinople (Paris, 1872); and E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (trans.), A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea, by William, Archbishop of Tyre (New York, 1943). An indispensable contribution to the study of the crusades is P. A. Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda (Amsterdam, 1940). Consult especially Schnurer, op. cit., II, 289-323.

³⁸There is a suggestion of hero-worship in the words which follow. The chronicler's father refused to consult the diviners. As the result of this exhibition of faithfulness, he found his family in good health when he returned to Italy, whereas the Lombards found the opposite.

war-like appearance and ferocious courage of King John of Jerusalem (43), who went out to battle with an iron mace, to the unspeakable terror of the Saracens; about the fall of Constantinople to the Latins (612); or about interesting personalities who had crossed the water beneath the standard of the cross (55, 83). Most of his references to the crusades, however, have to do with the exploits of King Louis of France, whose fascinating career has been discussed in a previous chapter. But scattered throughout Salimbene's book there are other items of historical value dealing with the struggle against the Moslems.

The author, for example, describes the Mohammedan treatment of their prisoners. The captured Christians in Egypt sent word to Pope Nicholas III to send them a good priest to whom they could confess their sins. The pontiff referred the matter to the minister-general of the Minors, Bonagratia, who sent Brother Johanninus to the unfortunate captives. On his return to the following general council of the order, the friar reported that the Christians were kept in chains, and that the Saracens gave them little to eat and compelled them to dig ditches and carry away the dirt in baskets (314).

When news reached the continent that King Louis had been overcome by the Moslem hosts, Salimbene reports (444f.) that, in 1251, a large number of "Shepherds" in France deserted their flocks³⁹ and decided to avenge their beloved monarch. No one

³⁹The chronicler drily remarks, "Woe to the shepherds who forsake their flocks. Where the king of France with the armed militia of Frenchmen failed, what can these do?"

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The fourth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The fifth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The sixth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The seventh part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The eighth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The ninth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is pointed out that the English language has a long and varied history, and that it is important to understand its development in order to use it correctly.

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dared to resist the infuriated men. Their leader stated that God had revealed it to him that the sea would open up before them. The people of France believed that this was a genuine revelation, and they treated the Preachers and Minors cruelly because the mendicants had preached St. Louis' crusade. The populace acted even worse than this: they blasphemed the name of Christ, who had allowed their king to get into such straits (445). When the Religious went about asking alms in the name of the Saviour, the crowds gnashed their teeth at them, called other beggars and gave them money instead, saying irreverently, "Accept this in the name of Mohammed, who is more powerful than Christ." The king of France always remained patient, but his people were furious. The bellicose "Shepherds" actually demolished one of the Preachers' homes. But, Salimbene sagely suggests, the advice which Gamaliel gave to the Sanhedrin was in order here: the movement was not of God, for that same year it came to naught, and large numbers of would-be crusaders perished.

In the middle ages the preaching of the cross was a powerful weapon in the hands of the church. The papacy used it to good advantage against the Albigensians and the Moslems, but also against political rivals who were threatening her prestige or invading her realms. The chronicler records the fact that Pope Martin IV, for instance, sent out letters ordering that the cross be preached against Peter of Aragon, who had occupied Sicily (564). The four reasons which the friar advances for

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the English language. It is noted that the English language has a long and rich history, and that the study of its development is essential for a full understanding of the language. The paper then goes on to discuss the various factors that have influenced the development of the English language, including the influence of other languages, the influence of social and cultural changes, and the influence of technological advances. The paper concludes by noting that the study of the history of the English language is a fascinating and important field of research, and that it is essential for anyone who is interested in the English language to have a good understanding of its history.

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this proposed crusade are typical of the motives which often prompted the papal curia to take strong measures against its adversaries. In the first place, Salimbene writes, Peter had occupied ecclesiastical property against the will of the church and was unwilling to obey the dictates of the papacy. Again, the church had granted Sicily to Charles of Anjou, and the crusade was necessary to enable the count to protect his property against foreign aggression. Further--and this third reason is suggestive of the mixed motives behind the entire crusading effort--Martin claimed that heretics were multiplying rapidly in Sicily, and that papal inquisitors were ineffective on the island because of the officials whom Peter had stationed there. Lastly, as the result of the presence of Aragon's army in Sicily, there was a diminution in the war supplies which normally came from the island to aid the crusaders to the Holy Land. Peter had apparently preempted large quantities of food and weapons for his own purposes.

Beset by enemies without, and by incompetence and iniquity within, the Roman Catholic Church of the thirteenth century stood sadly in need of spiritual power and moral rejuvenation. The decrees of councils and the testimony of contemporaries indicate the low state into which the Mother of the souls of men had fallen. But one of the most eloquent commentaries upon ecclesiastical conditions was the rise and influence of the mendicant orders, the very existence of which indicated that the church was not adequately fulfilling her functions.

Chapter IV

A LOYAL FRANCISCAN AND THE MENDICANT ORDERS

The emergence and phenomenal growth of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in the early years of the thirteenth century indicated that there was wide dissatisfaction with the shortcomings of the church. Men were eager to return to the primitive simplicity, the tender sincerity, and the purity of motive, that were in Christ.

Salimbene was a Franciscan.¹ His Chronicle not only furnishes a mass of information with respect to the mendicant orders

¹The Franciscan literature is very extensive. A select but superb bibliography on the life and ideals of St. Francis is given in Petry, op. cit., pp. 178-191. A comprehensive bibliography dealing with the origin and development of the order through the thirteenth century is found in Ficker and Hermelink, op. cit., II, 146-150. An excellent discussion of the life of the Poverello, the Rule, and ideals of the order, the extension of its influence, the ministers-general from 1227-1313, the strife concerning poverty, and the origin of the Conventuals and Observants, is presented in M. Heimbucher, Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche (Paderborn, 1933), I, 656-718. Consult also R. P. Helyot, Dictionnaire des ordres religieux (Paris, 1847-59), II, 326-354.

but it also reveals the manner in which these movements of the spirit were viewed by one who himself was loyal to their standards and dedicated to their purposes. As a Minor of the second generation, the author was near enough to St. Francis to experience his winsome appeal, and yet far enough from him to witness the transformation of his beautiful, but stringent, poverty ideal.

The chronicler was familiar with the life and career of St. Dominic, founder of the order² of Preachers. He states that the Spaniard established his order in 1216, during the rule of Pope Honorius III, and that he lived after its founding five and one-half years (21).³ Dominic died in August, 1221 (34), and

²This mendicant group exercised a profound influence upon the thirteenth century. They were canons who followed the Rule of St. Augustine. Their spirituality was somewhat more methodical and learned than that of the Franciscans: greater emphasis was laid upon study, theology, doctrine, liturgy, and preaching. Both orders were highly propagandist, although Dominican renunciation was more austere than that of the Minors. The intellectual and religious versatility of the Dominican tradition is suggested by a partial list of its important leaders: Vincent de Beauvais, Meister Eckhart, John Tauler, Henry Suso, Jacobus de Voragine, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, or St. Catherine of Siena. A brief but excellent sketch of the establishment and organization of the order is found in Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, I, 469-497. For bibliography consult Ficker and Hermelink, *op. cit.*, II, 150, 151.

³St. Dominic was born in 1170. A university man, he became a canon regular in 1194, and was elevated to the priory in 1201. Three years later he made a significant trip from Spain to Languedoc, where the Albigensian heresy was spreading. From 1206-1209 he was in the thick of the movement against the Catharists. In 1216 the Dominicans were confirmed as an independent order; in 1220 their first general council was held; and the following year St. Dominic died. See B. Jarrett, Life of St. Dominic (1170-1221) (London, 1934); P. Mandonnet, Saint Dominique: l'idée, l'homme et l'oeuvre (Paris, 1937); or H. C. Scheeben, Der heilige Dominikus (Freiburg, 1927). An illuminating foot-note on Dominic's biography is found in H. B. Workman, The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal (London, 1927), pp. 274, 275.

was buried in Bologna.⁴ His canonization⁵ was delayed twelve years. During the great Alleluia, John of Vicenza was preaching in Bologna, and was largely responsible for the saint's elevation to a position of honor (72). Salimbene knows full well that his own beloved Francis was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints in 1228 (36). He cannot refrain from noting that Dominic's promotion followed that of his master. The bishop of Modena, who later became a cardinal, was a great friend of the Preachers. He insisted that Dominic be canonized, stating that the Minors already had their saint, and that the Dominicans must have one even if they had to create him out of straw (72).⁶

But the chronicler has far more to relate concerning the Poverello.⁷ He had met the first disciple of Francis, Bernard

⁴The fact that Salimbene has so little to write concerning the Dominicans is not to be regarded as a reflection upon the order. A loyal Minor, he was steeped in Franciscan lore and devoted primarily to the ideals of the man of Assisi.

⁵He was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints by Pope Gregory IX in 1234. His holy day in the sacred calendar is August 4. See Heimbucher, *op. cit.*, I, 478; and the Acta Sanctorum (Paris, 1863-1919), XXXV.

⁶This disrespectful statement is obviously not intended to discredit St. Dominic. It indicates rather the patronizing attitude of a Franciscan who is quite aware of the fact that his order was the earlier of the two. Salimbene's claim here is to chronological, and not to essential, priority.

⁷The biographies of St. Francis are numerous. The best interpretations of the life of the Poverello include P. Sabatier, Vie de S. François d'Assise (Paris, 1931); J. Jørgensen, St. Francis of Assisi: A Biography (New York, 1926); L. Salvatorelli, The Life of St. Francis of Assisi (New York, 1928); P. Cuthbert, Life of St. Francis of Assisi (New York, 1913); M. Beaufreton, Saint François d'Assise (Paris, 1925); and Petry, *op. cit.*

of Quintavalle (39), and others of the original followers of the man of Assisi (104). Throughout his life, in constant contact with Franciscans from all walks of life, he collected items of information concerning the founder of his order.

St. Francis, he states, originated his movement in 1207,⁸ and lived in the order of Minors for twenty years (585). The founders of both the mendicant orders were divinely inspired in their task. In fact, Salimbene asserts, Jesus came into this world, not only in the days of his flesh, but also in "blessed" Francis, in "blessed" Antonius, in St. Dominic, and in their disciples, "in whom sinners should believe to deserve salvation"

7 (continued)

Salimbene quotes a poem by Julian of Speyer concerning Francis' career (35):

"Cepit sub Innocentio
cursumque sub Honorio
perfecit gloriosum,
Succedens his Gregorius
magnificavit amplius
miraculis famosum."

⁸ The reference is doubtless to the period in St. Francis' life when the true significance of renunciation dawned upon his soul. En route to Rome, possibly in 1206, he exchanged clothing with a beggar and began to solicit gifts. Later, while engaged in prayer, he received the summons of the crucified Saviour to rebuild his church which had fallen into ruin. Obedient to the divine behest, he raised money and contributed it toward the work of church construction, and with his own hands he carried stones to further the building program. When his father objected to this strange conduct, Francis renounced his allegiance to any earthly parent, surrendered his inheritance, and committed himself in unreserved renunciation to his Father in heaven. See I Cel., 10-15; II Cel., 12; Bon., II, 2-4; Tres Sec., 17-20.

(503).⁹ But Francis was the special friend of the Son of God: to him alone were given the five talents of the Scriptures and the five stigmata of the crucified Man of Galilee (195). At first the cardinals objected to the Franciscans. But in 1210 Pope Innocent III was granted a vision from heaven.¹⁰ He saw the Lateran church, threatened with ruin on account of its old age, wondrously upheld by a humble, despised little boy. He realized that the vision was from God; therefore, just as Jesus placed his hands upon the children and blessed them, so the pope confirmed the Rule and order and gave to Francis and his twelve companions the office of preaching (289). From that time on, the cardinals and popes, the author continues, loved the order of Francis with all their strength and appreciated the fact that it was useful to the church and given "for the world's salvation" (290).

⁹See the testimony of Jacques de Vitry concerning St. Francis, in his De religione et predicacione fratrum Minorum, from the Historia Orientalis, l. II, c.32, available in H. Boehmer, Analakten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi (Tübingen, 1930), pp. 69-72.

¹⁰Compare this tradition with the legend of St. Dominic, as presented in The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, op. cit., II, 416. According to this tale Pope Innocent III hesitated to found the order of Preachers. "And when the pope had hesitated for some little time, one night in a dream he saw the Lateran Church threatened with ruin: and while he watched fearfully, Dominic, the man of God, came running from the opposite side, and placing his shoulders beneath the tottering building, supported the whole fabric. And when he awoke, the pope understood the meaning of the vision and joyfully granted the petition of the man of God. . . ." Whether or not these similar traditions stem from a common legend is unknown.

Salimbene knows about the early biographies of St. Francis. He relates that in 1244 the aged Crescentius was elected minister-general of the order. The new official instructed Thomas of Celano, who had already composed a life of blessed Francis, to write a second volume¹¹ on the subject, for many facts had been discovered in the interim relating to the founder of the order. Years later Brother Bonaventura compiled all the information on the subject into one book.¹² But still, the chronicler notes, "much is being found that has not yet been recorded" (176). On the basis of these biographies and of current legends and traditions, Salimbene mentions several incidents in Francis' career, such as the vision in which he saw his sins all forgiven and heard the divine promise that his little company of followers would some day become a multitude (100); or his chanting of the

¹¹The first Life was written ca. 1228-29, and the second ca. 1244-47. These works are a very useful compilation of early sources. Possibly Brother Leo and other associates of St. Francis assisted the author in the composition of the second volume. The best edition of Celano is P. E. Alençon, S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula Additis Opusculis Liturgicis Auctore Fr. Thoma de Celano (Rome, 1906). A translation based upon this volume is A. G. P. Howell, The Lives of St. Francis of Assisi by Brother Thomas of Celano (New York, 1908). See Petry, op. cit., p. 19, note 21; Sessevalle, op. cit., I, 14-16; also J. R. H. Moorman, The Sources for the Life of S. Francis of Assisi (Manchester, 1940).

¹²The Legenda Major, an edition of which is found in Seraphici Doctoris S. Bonaventurae . . . opera omnia . . . (Quaracchi, 1882-1902), VIII, 504-564. Cited hereafter as Opera. The Legend was an official presentation of the life of the Poverello, written to compose divergences of viewpoint which had emerged within the order.

gospel at the Nativity and his depiction of the boys of Bethlehem, the cradle, the hay, and the newborn babe (303). He describes the Poverello's reception of the stigmata at Alvarne (556), his attack by the devil one night at the court of a cardinal (572), and his death, through which he left the shipwreck of this world and entered the celestial kingdom (35).¹³ The author reports, too, the removal of Francis' body to its new resting-place in Assisi, and the amazing miracles which God performed on this solemn occasion "through his servant and friend" (68). A few years after St. Francis' death the king of Hungary sent Brother Elias a golden vessel in which to preserve the Poverello's head. This was a thoughtful gesture of friendship and esteem. But the chronicler adds that certain giddy brethren in the monastery of Siena drank wine out of the vessel while it was en route to Assisi, in order that they might later boast of what they had done (107).¹⁴

Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans served a definite spiritual purpose. Throughout the Chronicle Salimbene does his best to be kind to the Preachers. But occasionally he inserts

¹³Such events in Francis' career are described in S. Bonaventura, Legenda Major, III, 6; X, 7; XIII, 1-10; XIV, 6.

¹⁴The sequel to this story is amusing. The guardian of the Siena monastery, zealous of justice, punished the guilty wine-bibbers by compelling them to drink at meals out of dirty little pots. The theory behind this penalty was that, whenever they boasted of their first deed, they would perforce be reminded of its punishment.

anecdotes which suggest that there was considerable rivalry between the orders. Such an incident was the debate between Brother Peter, the Dominican, and Brother Hugo of Digne. Peter, the chronicler states, had no use for the teachings of Joachim, and Hugo was an expert on the subject. The Dominican was reluctant to argue with the Minors, for, as Salimbene intimates, he was convinced that no one among the friars could compare with him in literary erudition¹⁵ or in knowledge of the Scriptures (240). But when the discussion was over and the defeated visitor had left the monastery, Brother Hugo voiced his opinion of the Preachers' arrogance in no uncertain terms. "Those good men," he asserted, "always glory in their knowledge, and say that the fount of wisdom is found in their order." He then complained that the Dominicans were in the habit of comparing the Minors with imbeciles; and, the author remarks, the verbal victory over Peter brought no end of consolation to the slandered friars (252, 253).

Salimbene was a mendicant by conviction, but he was no extremist. He describes his initiation into the art of begging. When first he went out into the streets of Pisa to gather food from house to house, he was excessively timid until strengthened

¹⁵The Dominican order stressed education as a means of defending the church against heresy, and of extending her influence even more widely. A discussion of this theme is found in R. F. Bennett, The Early Dominicans (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 52-74. Consult bibliography, ibid., pp. 183-185. The intellectual achievements of the Franciscans are discussed in Sessevalle, op. cit., I, 395-566.

by a heavenly vision.¹⁶ He saw the Son of God emerging from a home, taking bread and putting it into his receptacle. The Virgin Mary followed him, and then Joseph, both sharing in his mendicancy. The blessed Son turned to the young friar and besought him not to be ashamed to beg on his behalf. Salimbene asked the Lord why he did not shower his blessings upon his friends so that it would be unnecessary for them to beg. The Saviour replied that he wished some to earn merit by giving out of love for him, and others by begging in his name (46). A long conversation followed between the wondering Minor and his Lord in which the subjects of poverty, begging, and philanthropy were discussed (46-53). Salimbene suggests that there are two kinds of poverty (52): the first is voluntary self-dispossession, which is the way of perfection, the "selling all that thou hast"; the second is the necessary and inevitable poverty of the "poor of the world" who are always with us. In the former of these types there is true virtue; and this was the sort of self-sacrifice which Jesus, the Virgin, and Joseph, were exemplifying. The vision of their self-forgetfulness brought great solace to the chronicler's soul (53).

But our author is interested, not only in the ideals upon

¹⁶This suggests St. Francis' experience at St. Damian. It seemed to the Poverello that a sacred figure of Jesus became alive and spoke tenderly to him until the heart of the man of Assisi was radiant with light and strength. II Cel. 1, 6; Bon. 12; 15; 16; Tres. Soc., 13.

which the Franciscan movement was established,¹⁷ but also in the organization of the order. His volume is replete with descriptions and anecdotes relating to friars of all ranks, from the minister-general to the humble novice serving his apprenticeship in a monastery.

In the early days the Franciscan order was merely a fellowship in renunciation. The Minors were supported by mendicancy and work. They were engaged in prayer, manual labor, the care of lepers, and preaching. There was no hierarchy, although the young Francis supervised the order. As the number of adherents multiplied new demands arose. Fixed residences were permitted as early as 1213. These were known as hospices, or "places," rather than as "monasteries." Soon groups of hospices formed the "custody", which subsequently (in 1217) became the Province, with its provincial minister and with its subdivision into custodies. The supervisor of the custody was now known as the custodian, and that of the convent as the guardian. Provincial ministers were named by St. Francis, and were charged with the duties outlined in the Rule of 1221. Provincial and general chapters became a functioning reality. The presence of a number of priests among the Minors made it possible to adopt new regulations for

¹⁷The author is constantly aware of the fact that St. Francis left for his followers a Rule to govern their conduct. He refers often to the Regula Secunda, in connection, for example, with Franciscan elections (112), with chaste speech (81), or with discipline in the order (101). The original Franciscan Rule was issued in 1210 and is no longer in existence. An attempt to reconstruct this Rule has been made in Moorman, op. cit., pp. 50ff. The Regula Bullata of 1223 became the official Rule of the order.

the order concerning divine worship, fasting, and the reception of the sacraments. Under the influence of the clerics, and especially of Cardinal Ugolino, Pope Honorius III instituted a one year novitiate for all orders. The simplicity of Francis' early ideal was challenged by the rapid growth of his order. The Poverello soon permitted his followers to accept ground sufficient to build houses and modest gardens, provided that the habitations were of wood, that the churches were small, and that the land and dwellings remained the property of the benefactor. Even during Francis' lifetime a duality of ideals was developing within the order. On the one hand there was the Poverello's insistence that the practice of poverty, humility, and simplicity, conditioned the form of the apostolate; on the other hand there was the view of the clerics that activity ought in a certain measure to condition the practice of these virtues. When Francis died he was succeeded by ministers-general of high distinction. They were men of science, or law, or theology; and they believed that a less strict apostolate could be reconciled with the founder's ideal.¹⁸

Between the year of Francis' death and 1286 there were ten ministers-general. Salimbene mentions all of them, but singles out two for detailed portrayal. Only once in the body of the

¹⁸The early organization of the order and the emerging tension between Francis' ideal and the harsh realities of life is outlined in P. Gratien, Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'ordre des frères mineurs au XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1927), pp. 27-54.

Chronicle does the name of John Parenti (1227-1232) appear (102). In this passage the writer states that, during the regime of the first three rulers of the Franciscans, no general constitutions were formulated for the order. But the next minister-general, Brother Elias, is fully described. During his tenure of office he wished to make the order both numerous and powerful. He promoted the study of theology and the expansion of foreign missions, and was widely acclaimed for his achievements. But his major interest, one to which he devoted a large share of his time, was the building of the church¹⁹ at Assisi. So occupied was he with this work that he never visited the provinces. Acting upon the authority granted the minister-general by the Rule of 1223, he refused to convoke a general chapter of the Franciscans. In order to raise money for the construction of the church he imposed severe taxes on his subordinates. By 1236 the upper building at Assisi was so far advanced that the work of decoration could be started, and three years later the bell-tower was complete.

One of the interesting phases of the Chronicle is its revelation of Salimbene's attitude toward the institutor of this

¹⁹As soon as he had announced the death of Francis and had superintended the temporary interment of his beloved leader, Elias commenced to plan for the building of this great basilica. With the consent of the pope he obtained the gift of the Collis Inferni at the western edge of Assisi, and began to gather funds for the expenses of the construction. His activity alienated the zealots in the order, who shared Francis' ideal of absolute poverty; at the chapter held in May, 1227, Elias was repudiated and Parenti, provincial minister of Spain, was chosen minister-general.

The first of these is the fact that the...
the second is the fact that the...
the third is the fact that the...
the fourth is the fact that the...
the fifth is the fact that the...
the sixth is the fact that the...
the seventh is the fact that the...
the eighth is the fact that the...
the ninth is the fact that the...
the tenth is the fact that the...
the eleventh is the fact that the...
the twelfth is the fact that the...
the thirteenth is the fact that the...
the fourteenth is the fact that the...
the fifteenth is the fact that the...
the sixteenth is the fact that the...
the seventeenth is the fact that the...
the eighteenth is the fact that the...
the nineteenth is the fact that the...
the twentieth is the fact that the...

...

...

building program. The writer despises Brother Elias, and regards him as the one initially responsible for leading the order away from the simplicity and absoluteness of Francis' standards of poverty.²⁰ Large portions of the volume deal with Elias' defects. Salimbene lists these shortcomings and treats each exhaustively.

Brother Elias was minister-general of the order on two occasions (1221-1227; 1232-1239). Salimbene tells his niece who the official's parents were, and what his work²¹ had been out in the world before he joined the Franciscans (96). Elias, the author states, rose to a pinnacle of fame. He was a friend of both the pope and the emperor. But he was finally debased by the will of God, and officially deposed from his position of prestige by Gregory IX (98). The presumptuous general, the friar feels, deserved the harsh treatment meted out to him, for he was a man of glaring faults.

In the first place, he was guilty of sheer impoliteness. When the podesta of Parma, for example, visited him, he refused to rise to welcome him, although by an exhibition of courtesy,

²⁰The quality of Francis' poverty was unique: it was no adaptation of already existing monastic codes. It was an effort to reach back to the Christ of the Gospels and to move forward with the Saviour in utter humility and wholehearted spiritual and temporal nakedness. See the First Rule, 1; the Second Rule, 6; or St. Francis' Will, 4.

²¹Salimbene states that Elias' family name was Bonusbaro or Bonibarone, that his father was from the vicinity of Bologna and his mother from Assisi, and that before becoming a Minor the general had been a mattress-maker, and had also taught the children of Assisi to read the Psalter.

Salimbene thinks, the general would really have been honouring himself as well as his visitor (98). His rudeness was further exemplified by his speaking in parables. Even when asked how he wanted his eggs cooked, he often replied cryptically in order to be considered a man of wisdom.

Secondly, Brother Elias received many useless persons into the order. The author saw twenty-five unworthy lay brethren at Siena, and thirty during his stay in Pisa (99, 100). The friar holds no brief against the Franciscan lay movement as such. Indeed, he presents four reasons why laymen should be welcomed into the order: in the construction of any important building unpolished stones could well be placed in the foundation, upon which, later on, more beautiful stones might be laid; in choosing poor men for his companions St. Francis imitated the example of Jesus, who selected fishermen, rather than the rulers of the synagogue, as his disciples; it was revealed to the Poverello in a vision that, in spite of the paucity and apparent weakness of his first followers, a mighty spiritual company would succeed them; and the prophet Joachim had envisioned the Franciscan order as composed of both laymen and clerics (101). Brother Elias' fault, therefore, was not that he added laymen to the movement, but that his purpose in doing so was unworthy: he wanted such men in order to increase his own power and wealth.

Elias' third defect was his promotion of men of little worth who were already in the order. He chose laymen for guardians,

custodians, and even for ministers. The chronicler states that he came into contact with such lay officials (101). It was absurd, he feels, to elevate laymen to positions of responsibility, when there were many good clerics in the order. Francis' Rule had explained that non-presbyters²² had definite functions in the Franciscan scheme of things; but there were relatively few clerics when the Rule was prepared, and by the time of Elias' generalate the number of priests in the order had multiplied greatly.

Again, Brother Elias promulgated no universal constitutions for the government and uniformity of the order. As the result, abuses crept into the ranks of the Minors. Many lay brothers in Tuscany, who could not read a single letter, wore the clerical tonsure. Such men were useless for giving advice or hearing confessions. At Pistoia Salimbene saw some of these untutored fellows spending their time chatting through the monastery windows with women who were passing by (102). The brethren often went about alone, without their prescribed companions. They wandered freely out among men, unmindful of the order's regulations in this regard. Some of them allowed their beards to grow, in imitation of the Greeks or Armenians. In place of the simple cords which the Franciscans were supposed to wear, many of the friars adorned their garments with colored threads, and

²²Cf. the Rule of 1223, which states (II Reg., 7) that laymen as well as clerics might be nominated superiors in the order.

competed with one another in their efforts to make their clothing beautiful. Many of the lay brethren were actually sent as official representatives to chapters of the order. The chronicler saw about three hundred of these at the provincial chapter in Siena. They spent most of their time, he relates, in eating and sleeping. In the province of Tuscany there were four more lay brethren than clerics (103). Thus did Brother Elias increase the number of the Franciscans. Salimbene admits that the general received holy, devoted, scholarly men into the order; for Elias, he feels, had one good quality--he promoted the study of theology. But over against these exceptionally fine characters, there were men whose incompetence and arrogance knew no bounds. The ignorant friars used to rebuke young Minors who essayed to speak Latin by asking sarcastically, "Do you want to lose your holy simplicity by such knowledge of the Scriptures?" The laymen²³ of the monastery of Pisa had the audacity to suggest that for each cleric received into the order one layman be welcomed too.

The absurd lengths to which the laity went are suggested by an anecdote which our author relates. It seems that in one of

²³There was a wide diversity of viewpoint with respect to the part the laity should play in the Franciscan movement. Brother Elias welcomed numerous laymen into the order and elevated them often to positions of authority. But at the chapter-general of 1239, and during the administration of Aymon of Faversham, this trend was reversed. The new minister-general declared that thenceforth the laity would be excluded from the functions of minister, custodian, or guardian. The admission of laymen into the order was restricted by fresh regulations. This new tendency reached its culmination in the Constitutions of Narbonne (in 1260), which decreed that representatives of the laity could be received into the order only in case of urgent necessity, and with the permission of the minister-general.

the Franciscan hospices all of the residents were laymen, with the exception of one scholar and one priest. The haughty majority insisted that the priest become their cook. Humble follower of St. Francis that he was, and a shrewd Minor withal, the priest obeyed. One Sunday he locked himself in the kitchen and began to cook. It happened that some French secular clergy were passing through town. They stopped at the monastery and asked that they be allowed to receive the sacrament. The laymen rushed to the kitchen and knocked at the door. They explained to the priest that visitors had arrived and that he was to celebrate mass for them. The nonchalant cleric replied, "You go sing the mass; I am busy doing the cooking you refused to do." Thus were the laity put to confusion. And later, Salimbene adds, because they did not know where honor was due, and because there were already too many of them among the Minors, lay reception into the order was entirely forbidden.

Elias' fifth misdemeanor was that he never personally visited the order (104). Instead he remained in Assisi, or in his beautiful and pleasant residence in Cortona. Salimbene blames the general for this, although later (298) he states that the first one to institute a real system of visitation was John of Parma.²⁴

²⁴Holder-Egger feels (104, note 8) that, in the light of this fact, Elias was no more to be accused of negligence than were the other early generals. But Aymon of Faversham, in spite of his poor health, visited the provinces, including those of Germany. Aymon's activities are described in Thomas de Eccleston, op. cit., pp. 21-24.

The author treats fully Elias' next exhibition of spiritual delinquency. The minister-general, he avows, was cruel to his subordinates. He scolded and punished his provincial ministers if they did not raise their taxes and give him presents (104), for he was a veritable miser, a son of Belial. During his regime the Minors of lower rank trembled as a reed in water, or as a lark when the hawk swoops down to seize it. The wicked leader falsely slandered the friars. A dissipator of the order of St. Francis, he wanted to control the movement, even against the desires of the provincial ministers and custodians. He perverted justice throughout the provinces by sending a visitor to each area. These officials were arrogant exactors of taxes, rather than correctors of abuses (107). They toured the provinces and remained in each locality as long as they pleased. Whoever wished to enter an accusation against a provincial minister could find a hearing before these unjust judges, who had the authority to change or annul any provincial decrees. The author mentions two Minors who dared to tell the truth about Elias' nefarious crimes. When the general heard about their boldness, he had them falsely accused by his agents, and then deposed them from office. Another leader whom Elias demoted was Brother Albert of Parma, minister of Bologna, a holy and esteemed Minor. The general wished not only to depose the man, but also to degrade him. He ordered Brother Gerardus of Modena to clothe Albert in the garment of a novice and to bring him

thus to Assisi. But Gerardus was a self-effacing friar and had no desire to lord it over his deposed companion. He accompanied Brother Albert to Assisi, as though they were on a visit to the sacred shrines of Francis. He took two novice "caputia" (106) with him. When the visitors reached Assisi Gerardus gave one of the garments to Albert, and, putting on the other himself, he entered into Elias' presence, saying simply, "Albert is without, ready to do all you ask." At this exhibition of Christian humility and compassion all of Elias' indignation vanished and he restored Brother Albert to his original office.

The chronicler feels that prelates ought to be changed frequently lest they become insolent by remaining too long in positions of authority. He objects strenuously to the Benedictine system,²⁵ in which abbots were chosen for life, and so were tempted to mistreat their subordinates. Minors of lower rank ought never to be harshly treated, he claims. This can be proved from Scripture, from the natural world (in which every animal loves its kind), from ordinary human kindness, and from

²⁵See the Rule of St. Benedict (ch. 21), a critical study of which is available in B. Linderbauer, S. Benedicti Regula philosophisch erklärt (Metten, 1922). A commentary on this chapter is found in Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 166. Consult F. A. Gasquet, The Rule of St. Benedict (London, 1925). The Cluniac revival preserved the authoritarian ideal. Cf. U. Berlière, L'ordre monastique des origines au XII^e siècle (Paris, 1924). The Constitutions of the Cistercians uphold the centrality and power of the abbot. See Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 330f. A brief but excellent summary of the emergence and expansion of the monastic orders is found in D. Knowles, The Religious Houses of Medieval England (London, 1940), pp. 11-58.

the example of the Trinity (112f.). Yet many Franciscans who, in the secular world, had been noble, rich, and powerful, and who were now entirely consecrated to God and to their fellow-men, were condemned to obey prelates of questionable birth, of inadequate ability, and of ridiculous pride (120).

Another defect of Brother Elias lay in his desire to live "delicately and pompously" (157). The only trips he took were to Pope Gregory IX, to Frederick II, his intimate friend, to the spot in Assisi where St. Francis was buried, or to his lovely retreat in Cortona. He always rode strong horses, even though the distances to be travelled were short. His retinue resembled that of a bishop, for secular pages followed him in many coloured clothing from place to place. The snobbish general rarely ate with the brethren, but usually with a hand-picked little company of Minors, who remained with him until his last days and then returned to the order. Elias had his private cook in the monastery at Assisi, a man with whom Salimbene was acquainted and whom he pronounced an expert in the culinary art.

Elias' eighth shortcoming was his determination to retain control of the order at any cost (158). To accomplish this purpose he often changed provincial ministers, lest they become too firmly established and rebel against him. He did not hesitate to put in his friends and cronies as ministers. The only widely attended chapters which he convoked were cismontane, for he was

afraid that the brethren from beyond the mountains might try to depose him.²⁶ Another defect which Salimbene mentions is the fact that, when Brother Elias discovered that the ministers were gathering in opposition to him, he sent messengers to strong, friendly laymen throughout Italy, urging them to come to the general chapter to defend him. But unfortunately for the general, the pope decreed that only the brethren, with their wise and discreet companions, should attend the chapter; and the obediences of the laity to Elias were broken. The pontiff himself attended the meeting²⁷ and heard the complaints²⁸ of the brethren against the general (158).

A further exhibition of wickedness on Elias' part was that, even after the emperor's excommunication, the general adhered to him (159) and continued to associate with him in friendly fashion. He actually gave advice to the monarch when the latter was besieging Faenza and Ravenna. This sort of conduct, the

²⁶The chronicler adds that Arnulfus Anglicus, a holy and zealous Minor, penitentiary in the curia of Gregory IX, worked hard to convene a council to depose Elias; and that ultimately both cismontane and ultramontane Minors did bring about the general's deposition (158).

²⁷For an entire month prior to the chapter Elias had ordered the Minors to recite daily sections of the seventy-ninth psalm. This was an altogether unprecedented procedure. But the general was worried about his future and felt that he needed the help for which the psalmist prayed.

²⁸The far-reaching decisions of the chapter-general at Rome (in 1239) are summarized in Gratien, op. cit., pp. 144-149, and in Sessevalle, op. cit., I, 55-57.

chronicler intimates, was a scandal to the pope, the church, and the order. Children and peasants sang a little ditty in condemnation of Brother Elias when they met the Minors along the roads of Tuscany. The brethren were infuriated whenever they heard the song(160).

An eleventh defect on Elias' part was his interest in alchemy. Whenever he learned of Minors who in secular life had been skilled in the art he would send for them and keep them with him in the Gregorian palace at Assisi. The building had been erected by Pope Gregory IX partly to honor St. Francis and partly to provide the pontiff with suitable quarters on his visits to Assisi. It had many rooms, in which Elias kept his alchemists; and this, Salimbene adds, was tantamount to consulting the pythoness (160).

Two final errors on the minister-general's part complete the chronicler's list. After his debasement Elias tried to prove his innocence to the brethren assembled in a chapter. He argued that his deposition was unjust. He praised his own virtue and vituperated the order. But Brother Bonaventura of Forli took him to task for his remarks and scathingly denounced him as a disturber of men, a vagabond, and an apostate. At this onslaught the general retired in humiliation. Finally, the contumacious leader was never reconciled to the order. When John of Parma became minister-general, he sent Brother Gerardus of Modena to Elias and besought the ex-general to repent and to rejoin the Franciscans. John promised to show him mercy (162).

But Elias replied to Gerardus:

I have heard so many good things of John of Parma that I would not hesitate to throw myself at his feet in confession. But I am concerned about the provincial ministers whom I have offended . . . lest they put me in chains and feed me on bread and water. I have aroused the ire of the Roman curia too. The cardinal protector of the order would lay penance on me. Nor do I wish to lose the emperor's favor, which I now possess.²⁹

Salimbene writes that Brother Gerardus continued to plead with Elias. He laboured all day and was sleepless all night in this effort. But it seemed to him that the devil and his hosts were arrayed against him, for Brother Elias remained adamant in his apostasy. The visiting Minor returned and reported the situation to his general. In process of time, the chronicler relates with a sigh of relief, Elias died; and only then did the wicked man discover whether or not he was really absolved of his sins. A bit later a certain guardian had the corpse exhumed and thrown into a dungpit. Thus did an ignoble career come to a dishonourable end (163).³⁰

²⁹This is a free translation of a passage on p. 162 of the Chronicle. Elias said: ". . . Insuper, quia curiam Romanam offendi, constat michi, quod cardinalis qui est ordinis gubernator intromitteret se de penitentia michi danda. Nolo etiam perdere gratiam imperatoris, quam habeo."

³⁰It is difficult to evaluate the character of Brother Elias and his contribution to the growth of the Franciscan order. On the one hand he has been called the Judas of the Minors, the man who betrayed his master by substituting a new set of ideals and standards for those of St. Francis. Salimbene shares this view. But on the other hand Elias has been excessively lauded as the apostle Paul of the mendicant movement, as the Minor who really

The chronicler mentions the names of the next three ministers-general but has little to say about them. He simply announces that Albert of Pisa succeeded Brother Elias (44); that Albert died in 1240 (165); and that he was followed by Aymo Anglicus. Brother Aymo passed away in 1244 (176). His successor was the aged Crescentius from the March of Anconitana. Salimbene relates only two incidents in this general's career. Crescentius was the one who instructed Thomas of Celano to write St. Francis' life (176). Further, when the general was summoned by Pope Innocent IV to the Council of Lyons, he excused himself on account of his old age and sent Brother John of Parma in his place.

It is this younger man to whom Salimbene is devoted, and whose praises he sings as the ideal minister-general. If Elias was a renegade, Brother John was the incarnation of virtue. The details which the chronicler furnishes concerning John are of real historical value. The friar felt a warm sympathy for his leader, for both he and John were from Parma, each became

30 (continued)

gave to the order its permanent basis and extended its influence to distant bounds. Francis clearly loved and trusted Brother Elias. But early in the general's career it became clear that he did not fully comprehend the totalitarianism of the Poverello's renunciation, nor the utter sincerity of the man of Assisi. Elias was eager to make his master's movement succeed in a practical, utilitarian way. He was a man of genuine ability and vision. But his overweening ambition was ultimately thwarted and led to his deposition by the pope in 1239. For a bibliography on Brother Elias consult The Catholic Encyclopedia, V, 384, 385. See H. E. Goad, "Brother Elias as the Leader of the Assisian Party in the Order," in Franciscan Essays (Manchester, 1932), II, 67-83; and Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 693, 694.

interested in the teachings of Joachim, and John must have seemed to the chronicler a refreshing contrast to Brother Elias.

Johanninus of San Lazzaro (297)³¹ was elected minister-general of the Franciscan order in 1247 (178). While still a lad he had become desperately ill, so that those around him felt that he could not possibly recover (297). But at the height of his illness he turned to his companions and calmly said, "God has not delivered me to death." From that moment he began to improve. As soon as he was strong enough he began to study zealously and to walk with God. Finally he became a Minor, and advanced from virtue to virtue in the order. John was a man of medium height, well shaped in all his members, and of remarkable physical and mental energy. The author states that he had the face of an angel and was always gracious and happy. His benignity and patience were the result of a deep devotion to God. John was a man of prayer; he celebrated the mass daily, and so devoutly that he became a channel of grace to all present. His deeds revealed his honesty and holiness and he was a mirror and example to all. His talents were varied. He preached so fervently and eloquently that he often moved his congregation to

³¹The reference is to John of Parma. He was a man of ascetic piety. When he was elected to the generalate a sigh of relief went up from the zealots within the order. But John was not strong enough to resist effectively the attacks of the more moderate majority. He was ultimately accused of heresy and presumption, and in 1257 he was forced by the pope to resign. His influence is discussed in D. S. Muzzey, The Spiritual Franciscans (New York, 1907), pp. 5, 8, 36. His character, achievements, and resignation are described in Gratien, op. cit., pp. 239-246. For his relationship to the teachings of Joachim see Sessevalle, op. cit., I, 65-74.

tears; he was an excellent grammarian and theologian (297); he lectured in the monasteries of Bologna and Naples (298), and even the cardinals considered him a philosopher of parts; his knowledge of music and skill in singing were well-known; his handwriting was beautiful and legible. In short, the chronicler implies that there were few spheres in which John did not excel.

The general ruled for ten years (309). He was held in high esteem, not only by the Minors, but also by secular and ecclesiastical leaders. Cardinal Petrus Hispanus, who later became Pope John XXI, was a famous sophist and logician. He wanted to keep John with him in the papal curia, for he regarded the general as one endowed with similar wisdom (304). Pope Innocent IV loved John as his own soul and used to embrace him tenderly. St. Louis of France and his three brothers venerated him (305). Vattatius, emperor of the Greeks, learning of John's sanctity, requested that the general be sent to him, for he hoped that through John's efforts the Greeks might be brought back to the precepts of the church (304). The chronicler describes this mission to the Greeks and tells who John's companions were on the journey (321, 322). When the leader of the Franciscans reached Vattatius, the emperor loved him and wanted to shower him with gifts (304). But Brother John refused to take his presents. The author thinks that Vattatius profited by this example of unselfishness. Nevertheless, the ruler was able to persuade John to accept a whip which, the emperor informed him, he could carry in his hand when riding (305). John did not hesitate to receive

the gift, for he thought that it was merely a horse-whip. But when the populace saw the imperial sign in the general's hand, they knelt, "as the Latins do at the elevation of the Host." And, the chronicler adds, they also paid John's travelling expenses. Another ruler, too, was impressed by the general's holiness. Once when John went to England³² to see King Henry III,³³ his Majesty left his table, descended from the palace, and embraced his visitor from the continent. On Henry's return his knights scolded him for humbling himself to such an extent. The king replied, "I did this to the honor of God and Francis, and because I have heard of this man's great sanctity as the servant and friend of God." Salimbene writes, quite gratuitously, that men then began to praise the king (305).

Unquestionably John of Parma had many virtues. He was a man of deep humility. The chronicler gives several illustrations of his self-abasement. Once when Salimbene was visiting

³²Thomas of Eccleston writes (*op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50) that "Frater Johannes de Parma, lector ['reader'], qui sententias cursorie legerat Parisius, praecipuus zelator Ordinis", had visited England prior to his election to the generalate. He had attended a provincial chapter at Oxford, and had summoned the English brethren to return to their original unity of spirit.

³³This ruler was always kindly disposed toward the friars. His generosity to the Minors is described in E. Hutton, *The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538* (Boston and New York, 1926), pp. 64, 72, 75, 78, etc. Henry venerated the followers of St. Francis and was their benefactor in many ways. See V. G. Green, *The Franciscans in Medieval English Life (1224-1348)* (Paterson, N. J., 1939), pp. 70-71, 75, 76, 78, etc.

the monastery at Tarascon, the guests were assigned their beds in the house in which the general was staying. The weary Minors retired early while John went back to the cloister to pray. The author waited up for his general in order to show him his bed. When John returned from his prayers he refused to sleep in the place prepared for him, saying, "That bed would suit the pope, not John of Parma." He then threw himself down on Salimbene's couch and insisted that the chronicler spend the night on the magnificent piece of furniture on which he himself was supposed to lie (295, 296). On another occasion, when the general was at the monastery of Ferrara, he noticed that the same brethren were always invited to dine with him. Apparently the guardian was eager to show favors to some of his particular friends. One evening when John was washing his hands for dinner he heard the guardian selecting the same guests to eat with him again. Moved by divine inspiration, Salimbene writes, the general began to mock the guardian's seeming solicitude; the words of invitation were nothing, he exclaimed, but the gabbling of geese. The blushing guardian defended his conduct and asserted that the guests he chose were selected in order to show John honor. But the general disdained this sort of preferment and sent for the poorer and less conspicuous brethren to eat with him (306, 307). John was a public spirited person. He showered his favors indiscriminately upon the Minors, whether or not they were able to repay him. Throughout his career he retained this characteristic.

Salimbene writes that the general used often to go out with the brethren into the kitchen to help them clean vegetables and prepare for dinner (308). John wanted to do his own writing, in order to earn his clothing and not to impose upon the other Minors. But the friars would not tolerate this, for they saw how busy he was in the service of the order (309). After a useful and unselfish career as general, John hastened the convening of a chapter-general to select a new leader, for, unlike Brother Elias, he was eager to retire from office (309). He even refused to become a cardinal (302). This, too, differentiated him sharply from the ambitious Elias.

John of Parma had several important accomplishments to his credit. He seemed to be wise in the selection of suitable Minors for difficult positions (296). He displayed unusual energy in visiting the provinces (298). He was the first general to welcome devoted men and women to the benefits of the order by giving them letters stamped with his own seal (299).³⁴ John valued efficiency more than he did red tape. At the general chapter of Metz (in 1249), the ministers and custodians requested him to prepare more constitutions for the order. He replied that what was needed was not more regulations, but better carrying out of those already in force.³⁵ Yet the general was willing to write

³⁴Salimbene quotes the form used in these documents, and writes that the letters were given only to the truly penitent, who really were seeking God, and "who were disposed to be benefactors" (299).

³⁵The avowed basis of John's refusal was that God gave only two precepts to our first parents, who broke both of them; and

a letter to the entire order charging the friars to act uniformly in their ecclesiastical offices (301).

John had many friends, but he also had a multitude of enemies (304). The reason for their hostility was the general's keen interest in, and active propagation of, the doctrines of Joachim. In Ravenna one day Salimbene was discussing John with Brother Bartholomew, ex-minister of Milan. His friend remarked:

Brother John brought confusion to himself and to the order. He was so wise and holy that he could have corrected the curia if they had been willing to believe him. But because he followed the prophecies of fantastic men he hurt both himself and his friends (302).

After his retirement from office the general went to live in a hermitage. While staying there, the chronicler adds, the holy man received strange and interesting visitors. Two large birds of the forest built their nest under the table where he studied. They were entirely unafraid of John, and when their little brood was hatched they allowed him to fondle the baby birds.³⁶ One day

35 (continued)

that the poor Minors were already complaining about the multitude of constitutions which had been placed around their necks, and which the ministers and guardians themselves were not disposed to keep (301). "Noveritis, quod de vobis conqueruntur pauperes fratres, quia vos facitis multitudinem constitutionum et imponitis super collum subditorum, et vos, qui eas facitis, non vultis eas servare."

³⁶In his friendship with the birds John resembled St. Francis. Both seemed to be at home in their Father's world, and to be at one with the natural creation. Salimbene realizes this. But he suggests an additional reason for John's conduct: the ex-general's father, Albertus Auceps, was a bird-catcher by profession (311).

a bishop came to visit John and asked him for one of the creatures as a souvenir. We do not know whether or not the request was granted (310).³⁷

The manner in which the next minister-general was elected was unusual. When John announced his desire to retire from office the ministers and guardians at the chapter in question were loth to accept his resignation. But when they saw his anguish of soul they said to him, "You have visited the order and you know conditions; please assign to us a suitable brother to succeed you." The general complied with their request. He suggested the name of Bonaventura of Bagnoreto and added that he did not know a better man in the order. The chapter then elected his candidate unanimously (310).

Brother Bonaventura³⁸ was general for seventeen years and accomplished much good (310). He was the apologist par excellence of the Franciscan order and supreme advocate of moderation in the application of its poverty ideal. Yet Salimbene has little to say about the general. He states that John of Parma licensed the young Bonaventura to study at the University of Paris (299). He mentions certain of the general's writings,³⁹

³⁷The chronicler informs us that years later (in 1282) John still persisted in his devotion to the mysteries of prophecy (303). ". . . frater Iohannes de Parma, condam generalis minister, adhuc erat in credulitate preterita. . . ."

³⁸A good digest of the achievements of this remarkable man is in Sessevalle, *op. cit.*, I, 74-80.

³⁹The Quaracchi edition of the *Opera* is a magnificent contribution to scholarship. The work is a masterpiece of erudition.

such as his biography of St. Francis (176), his commentary on the gospel of Luke, and his four books on the Sentences of Peter Lombard (299). He states that it was Brother Bonaventura who first really formulated uniform constitutions⁴⁰ for the order (159). He quotes from one of the general's sermons on demons (576). But although he devotes relatively little space to the general, it is clear that he is aware of the leader's amazing personality and accomplishments. He relates only one anecdote concerning Bonaventura; but obviously the tale was widely known wherever there were Minors. Brother Marcus of Monte-feltro, one of the associates of John of Parma, was a close friend of Salimbene. The chronicler writes that Marcus loved Bonaventura so dearly that after the general's death (in 1274), whenever he thought upon his master's learning and all the graces he possessed, he was moved to tears. Marcus told the chronicler a tale which illustrates Bonaventura's sublime humility. The general one day was scheduled to preach to a group of clerics. Marcus, eager to goad him to better oratory, rebuked him for his previous failures and said that he expected little better from him when he addressed the clergymen. Bonaventura, far from resenting these cutting remarks, rejoiced greatly, and that for

⁴⁰The so-called Constitutions of Narbonne, in 1260. These consisted of twelve chapters dealing with the admission of novices into the order, with the quality and style of Franciscan clothing, with the practice of poverty, fasting, and silence, with manual labor, preaching, and elections of ministers, with the nature and frequency of chapters, etc. See Gratien, op. cit., p. 310.

five reasons: he was always benign and patient; he imitated the blessed St. Francis in his lowliness of mind; he was aware that Marcus loved him devotedly; he was glad to have a fresh occasion to shun vainglory; and he felt that his friend's chiding would enable him to see himself more clearly (308).

Jerome of Ascoli, minister-general from 1274-1279, is named only twice in the Chronicle (169, 498). Nothing of consequence is reported concerning him. His successor, Bonagratia of Bologna, had previously been minister of Bologna (403), and had refused to attend the Council of Ravenna (in 1261) at which questions relating to the Tartars were discussed (403). During his regime as general he sought to emulate the example of John of Parma by visiting the provinces. But the chronicler states that his strength was not equal to the task. He died after a four year rule (298) and was buried in front of the great altar in the Franciscan monastery at Assisi (520). After him came Arlotus of Prato (1285-1286), who had studied at Paris (210). His competitor for the office of minister-general was Brother Peter, minister of Aquitania (578, 579). Beyond these facts, Salimbene has little to say about him. Matheus of Aqua-Sparta is the last of the generals whose name appears in the Chronicle. Salimbene simply states that the Franciscan leader was from the valley of Spoleto in Tuscany (643), and that he attended a provincial chapter in Ferrara during his generalate (650).

The Chronicle is a mine of information concerning leading personalities in the Franciscan order. In addition to discussing

the ministers-general of the thirteenth century it throws light upon many other outstanding Minors.

Brother John of Parma made such a profound impression upon Salimbene that the chronicler feels constrained to list and describe the twelve associates of the general who shared with him successively his arduous work. The first of these was Brother Marcus of Monte-feltro, who has already been mentioned in this chapter. He was a man of honest repute and served as secretary to Crescentius, John of Parma, and Bonaventura (307). A speedy and lucid writer, he exercised a profound influence upon the Minors. At the Council of Pisa (in 1272) he obtained an unusual privilege: it was decreed that after his death every priest of the order should say a mass for his soul. John's second companion was Brother Andreas of Bologna, a deeply devoted servant of God. It was he who composed a letter which was read before St. Louis during the chapter of Sens at the start of the monarch's first crusade (551). The document pleased the French king because it revealed John's friendliness and courtliness. Andreas became provincial minister in the Holy Land and ended his career as papal penitentiary.

Salimbene writes that all the associates of John of Parma were his intimate friends (551). The third of these was Walter the Englishman, a man of culture, a good singer, preacher, and letter writer. He was a friar of angelic character, and had sat under John's teaching at Naples (before the general assumed office). He was later promoted to the papal curia; and rumor

had it that he subsequently became a bishop against his will, although Salimbene confesses that he does not know when or where. A fourth companion of John was Brother Bona-juncta, of the March of Ancona, an educated guardian and an excellent preacher and singer. A man of average height, and bald-headed, he had the appearance, Salimbene thinks, of the apostle Paul. He was the first (and last) bishop of Recanati. The next associate was John of Ravenna, a stout, dark-complexioned man who had served as guardian of the monastery of Naples. The chronicler notes that John was a Minor of good and honest life; and he adds that in all his experience he never saw a man who loved pancakes with cheese so much as this holy friar. Another associate was Brother Anselmus Rabuinus, a Lombard (552). He had been a lawyer in secular life, served as minister of the order in two different provinces successively, and was largely responsible for John's elevation to the generalate. He was succeeded, as companion to John, by Bartholomeus Guisculus of Parma, a famous orator and Joachite, who had been a teacher of grammar before he entered the order, and who soon became famous for his preaching, his writing, and his decorative painting.

A recital of the names of these close friends of John of Parma reveals the variety of background and of interests represented by important followers of St. Francis. The eighth associate was Guidolinus Iamarius of Parma, corrector at table in the monastery of Bologna. He was a good student of the Bible,

a talented singer,⁴¹ and a friar greatly beloved by all. After him came Iacobinus of Berceto, guardian of the monastery at Rimini, who, in addition to having the qualities of holiness and honesty which all the associates of John seemed to possess, had an extraordinarily strong voice, and excelled in preaching. The next companion was Brother Iacobus of Mantua, once minister to Dalmatia, an excellent counselor and student of decretals. He was followed by Drudo, minister of Burgundy, a Minor of unbelievable holiness (553). He travelled with John on the mission to Greece, in 1249, during which the Minors sought to bring about the unity of the church. The last of the associates of the general was Brother Bonaventura of Yseo, a sagacious and industrious member of the order. He served as minister in at least four different provinces, and wrote a large volume of sermons on the feasts and the seasons of the church. His chief fault consisted in his constant desire to play the lord over his fellow-Minors. This was entirely out of keeping, for men said that he was only the son of a tavern maid (553).

People from all walks of life found refuge in the Franciscan order. The Chronicle makes this abundantly clear. Three examples, taken at random from its pages, will indicate the variety of social strata represented in the Minors' ranks.

⁴¹The chronicler is fond of discussing the technical aspects of his friends' singing ability. Here, for example, he shows in what respects Guidolinus' musical skill surpassed the qualities of his voice (552).

The chronicler relates that King John of Jerusalem, mighty man of valor though he was, was received into the order by Brother Benedictus of Arezzo, minister of Greccio. Even if God had prolonged the ruler's life, the author is confident, he would never have abandoned his vows (44).

A second illustration is found in the case of Brother Rainaldus, a bishop who joined the Franciscans (326f.). When the church official observed the wicked lives of the clerics under his jurisdiction and became convinced that they had no desire to return to the path of moral rectitude, he went to Pope Innocent IV and resigned his office. In this decision, he later told Salimbene, he was imitating the example of blessed Benedict, who forsook the monks whom he knew to be evil (325). When Innocent saw his friend's earnestness he promised to dissolve the episcopal relationship, but delayed the action in the hope that Rainaldus might change his mind. Months later the bishop appeared before the papal consistory at Perugia and once more presented his resignation. He laid his official paraphernalia at the feet of the pontiff. This disturbed and angered the cardinals, who took it as a personal affront, as though Rainaldus were derogatory of their high ecclesiastical office. The pope was perturbed too for he had personally consecrated Rainaldus. The entire group besought the bishop, for the love of God and their honor, and for the sake of his usefulness to the church and to the salvation of souls, to withdraw his resignation. But all in vain.

The chronicler depicts this scene with genuine relish. The confusion of the august prelates amuses him. He writes that when the pontiff saw that Rainaldus was obstinate he urged the bishop to keep the dignity and the authority of his ordination "so that your order might have at least some use from you" (327). But the cleric would retain nothing. His relationship was dissolved and at once he joined the friars. His first act was to get a basket and to go through the streets of Perugia begging. It so happened (probably through God's will, Salimbene thinks) that a cardinal, returning from the meeting of the consistory, met the new mendicant and rebuked him with the words, "Were it not better for you to be a bishop than a beggar?" Rainaldus defended his conduct with the aid of Scripture; and the church official, "knowing that God had spoken in his saint", told the pope and cardinals all that he had learned from the ex-bishop. The papal curia, Salimbene adds blandly, was amazed at the tale (328).

But not all the Minors came from the higher classes. Our author gives a third illustration which makes this clear. In the early days of the order two brethren who were usurers joined the Franciscans. They were Brother Illuminatus and Brother Berardus. They restored their ill-gotten gains, provided for the clothing of two hundred poor people, and gave two hundred pounds to the Minors for their building program. To prove the sincerity of his profession, Illuminatus had himself

whipped through the city with a money bag tied around his neck (612).

The number of individual Minors described in the Chronicle is legion. This is natural, for Salimbene met hundreds of friars during his sojourns in various monasteries. Some were lecturers in theology, as for example, Brother Samson of England, instructor of theology at Parma, or Brother Humilis of Milan (104). Others were provincial ministers. There was John of Castro-veteri, minister of Rome, who chatted with Salimbene concerning John of Parma's unbelief (303). The list of ministers includes such leaders as Brother Iacobus de Yseo, minister of Rome (315); Brother Bertholinus, custodian of Genoa, who later was appointed to the higher office (315); Brother Nantelmus, a consecrated ex-lector from Milan (316); Brother Vitalis, minister of Bologna, and his successor Brother Bartholomew (593); or Brother Nicholas of Monte-feltro, minister to Hungary (556). The chronicler usually shows a proper amount of respect for these Franciscan officials. But occasionally he relates amusing anecdotes concerning their idiosyncrasies. Brother Aldevrandus of Bologna, for example, was once the author's minister. The unfortunate leader's head was deformed, after the fashion of an ancient war galley, and on his forehead there were unattractive warts. A tale was going the rounds in the monastery at Bologna to the effect that, during the week of Epiphany, when the minister commenced to recite the hymn beginning "The head of the dragon,"

he was inadvertently furnishing a rare opportunity for laughter (137). ". . . fratres ridebant, et ipse turbabatur et erubescibat."

One of the most interesting Minors of them all was Brother John of Plano-Carpi, missionary to the Tartars (206f.), a cultured orator and ex-minister to Germany. The chronicler struck up a friendship with him and was permitted to copy from a large volume he had written on the Tartars. The gifts which Brother John brought to the pope from the great lord of the east impressed our author greatly, particularly the wooden cup which had stamped upon it a picture of a beautiful queen. The missionary explained that the picture was placed there not by the art of any painter, but through the power of the stars, and that if the cup were shattered into a hundred pieces, each piece would bear the image of the queen. He explained further that the people among whom he worked were really "Tattari". He had been obliged to deck himself in purple when he entered the presence of their ruler. The oriental lord received him nobly, treated him kindly, and wanted to know who the leaders of the west were. John replied that there were two, the emperor and the pope, but that the pope was the greater. Hence the Tartar ruler addressed the letter which John brought to the pontiff, and not to the emperor.

The pages of the Chronicle abound in thumb-nail sketches of Salimbene's friends. Brother William Britto was a famous author, but an impatient corrector at table; the author heard

him reproving the brethren even in the presence of the pope and John of Parma (233). Cantors are represented in the list: Henricus of Bobbio, for example, had been song-leader in the monastery at Genoa before his promotion to lector and then to minister (296). Guardians (501), procurators of the order in the papal curia (316)--in short, officials of almost all Franciscan ranks are mentioned in Salimbene's lengthy volume.

The chronicler is stern in his criticisms of the secular clergy of his day. But when he treats of the friars his realism is tempered with kindness and sympathetic understanding. He rarely singles out wicked Minors for description but usually confines his more detailed portrayals to men of real merit. One illustration will suffice. Brother Rolandus of Pavia was a lowly priest, a man of prayer and merit before God (555f.). The friars all knew him as a holy, humble, servant of the Lord. His sanctity was so profound that no one was surprised to learn an amazing tale concerning him. A certain layman, it appears, came one evening to the monastery in which Rolandus lived and besought the brothers to pray for his deliverance. "I have deadly enemies," he said, "who plan to enter my home to-night and kill me." The Minors acceded to the request and gave themselves to earnest and sustained prayer. The next day the layman returned and reported to the guardian all that had happened. The enemies did enter his house with the intention of slaying him. But a certain Minor suddenly appeared in the home; he so frightened the wicked men that they fled, as insects are put to rout when

attacked by a fly-swatter (555). The guardian rejoiced to hear the good news and wanted to know which of his Franciscans had so miraculously played the defender. As the brethren passed by on their way to evening devotions, he asked his friend to point out the one who had helped him. At length Rolandus came along, and the visitor recognized him at once as the one "through whose kindness and aid" the Lord had delivered him.⁴²

The Minor of Salimbene's day was called upon to perform a wide variety of duties. In addition to the round of tasks imposed upon him in connection with life in a monastery there seemed to be no end to his opportunities for service. The Chronicle suggests some of the obligations involved in the career of a Franciscan. As indicated in the story of Brother Rolandus, the brethren were often requested to intercede on behalf of their neighbors.⁴³ They were asked to serve as

⁴²The author does not wish unduly to idealize the Franciscan order. He is prepared to admit that some of the Minors were not what they seemed. One of his gentlest attacks on his contemporaries is the brief note that even some of the most learned and holy lectors were guilty of unbecoming irregularities. They were regarded as "light persons" because they spent too much of their time playing with cats, or calves, or little birds. They sought, perhaps, to imitate St. Francis; but in his conduct the Poverello sought only the glory of God, whereas these idle men were governed by other motives (146).

⁴³The author asserts that, just as the Old Testament prophets were sent by God to help the kings and rulers of the children of Israel, so the Religious in his day were in the world to pray for the peace of the church and of the empire (441). "Et nota, quod, sicut in veteri Testamento dati et missi fuerunt a Deo prophete in adiutorium regum et pontificum totiusque Iudaici populi, qui tunc temporis populus Dei erat, sic in novo dati sunt viri religiosi, qui rogant pro pace ecclesie et rei publice, id est imperii. . . ."

peacemakers between warring factions.⁴⁴ They served as referees in legal strife.⁴⁵ They taught in Paris (42), heard confessions of prisoners doomed to death (172), took steps to see that the last wishes of dying persons were faithfully carried out, assisted eligible young women in finding suitable husbands (428, 429), or endeavored to bring dying sinners back to the fold of the church (478). They were often chosen to positions of great responsibility, and many of them went to distant lands as missionaries of the gospel. The diversity of the Minors' occupations is suggested in the case of Bernardus Bafulus, whose early renown was largely based upon the skill with which he extinguished a raging fire in the days of the Parmesan-Milanese wars (in 1237), and who ended his days in praiseworthy fashion as a Franciscan missionary to the Holy Land (613).

When St. Francis first established his order, his spiritual goal was "naked to follow the naked Christ."⁴⁶ But the

⁴⁴For example, mendicants arranged a truce between the internal and external parties of Reggio, in 1265 (470); Brother Peregrinus of Polesmo made peace between the Bolognese and the Venetians, in 1273 (480); and inter-family strife was ended through the mediation of a Minor (512).

⁴⁵Salimbene himself once had the authority (in 1255) to select umpires in a dispute between Bologna and Reggio. He chose a man who had once befriended him (41).

⁴⁶This phrase was used by Jacques de Vitry, as well as by others, in describing the Minors' ideal. De Vitry writes concerning Francis and his followers, "se ipsos abnegantes, crucem sibi tollendo, nudi nudum sequentes [Christum]. . . ." See Boehmer, op. cit., p. 70.

actualities of life soon brought modifications to this ideal. As the years went by the Minors began to accumulate property and to defend their conduct as in keeping with the spirit, if not with the letter, of their founder's Rule. The early Franciscans shared Salimbene's dislike of Brother Elias. They regarded him as an innovator, as one who was willing to disregard St. Francis' Will and to break his Rule. But with the passage of time the chronicler and his friends seemed to become reconciled to the harsh demands of reality. Salimbene defends the poverty ideal on every possible ground: he quotes the Scriptures (49), cites the example of leading saints and hermits (48), gives an exemplum of a king whose virtue consisted in his giving of alms (49), and throughout his volume reveals his sympathy with Francis' standards. At the same time he tacitly admits that the standard of absolute poverty had to be mitigated in the light of life's exigencies.

The metamorphosis⁴⁷ in St. Francis' ideal of poverty was gradual but definite. The Poverello's renunciation had been total. His immediate goal had been to "marry" Dame Poverty in imitation of Christ. The "First Rule", in 1221, gave as the condition of admission to the fellowship the complete despoiling of all one's goods, as well as the service of lepers. The poverty demanded was so rigorous that it excluded all individual

⁴⁷It would be hard to find a more adequate and convincing summary of this transformation than that in Gratien, op. cit., pp. 63-239.

or collective possession, as well as the use of money and the reception of fixed revenues. The founder of the order was impelled by a feeling of eschatological crisis: the hora novissima seemed to him to be approaching.⁴⁸ But even during his lifetime changes appeared in the ideals which governed the fellowship: as early as 1217 Provinces were organized and chapter assemblies were planned. As the movement expanded the purity of the poverty goal was constantly threatened. Papal privileges were granted to the order; new recruits, who had not known Francis personally, crowded into the fellowship; a duality of standards soon emerged, as many felt that the nature of the Minors' activity should condition in a measure their practice of poverty, simplicity, and humility. After Francis' death a succession of distinguished men⁴⁹ of science, law, and theology followed him as minister-general, and the belief became wide-spread that a less strict apostolate could be

⁴⁸This phrase from I John 2:18 occurs repeatedly in the Speculum Perfectionis, XXVI, 1, 2, and XLV, 3. See S. Sabatier, Le Speculum Perfectionis ou memoires de frere Léon sur la seconde partie de la vie de Saint François d'Assise (Manchester, 1928 and 1931), I, 72, 118. The Poverello often referred to the great eschatological passages of the synoptic gospels, particularly in his First Rule. See especially his references to Matthew 10, 16:24-28, 19:28, 24, 25, 28:20; Mark 13; Luke 9, 10, 12:8, 9, 21:24-36, 22. Consult R. C. Petry, "Medieval Eschatology and St. Francis of Assisi," in Church History, IX (March, 1940), 54-69.

⁴⁹This was by no means a logical outgrowth of Francis' ideals. The man of Assisi was suspicious of learning. His position is admirably treated in Gratien, op. cit., pp. 83-96. This refutes the view that Francis encouraged the study of sciences within his order. For such an interpretation see Zawart, op. cit., p. 263.

reconciled with the founder's ideal. Gradually, through the decisions of general chapters,⁵⁰ through official papal interpretations of the Rule,⁵¹ through a long series of intellectual developments,⁵² through the appointment of additional Franciscan officials, the very atmosphere of the movement was changed. The "Spiritual" group of Minors emerged, as over against the "Conventuals".⁵³ The two parties engaged in a

⁵⁰The general chapter of 1230, for instance, allowed the introduction of men with whom might be deposited monetary gifts of charity, and who should provide in the name of the benefactors for the needs of the brethren. This chapter, further, requested the pope for an official interpretation of the Rule and Will.

⁵¹The bull Quo elongati, of 1230, was the first papal explanation of the Rule. It decreed that it was sufficient for the guidance of the order, that there was no obligation in the Will, and that nuntii (benefactors' representatives) were permissible. Subsequent bulls exempted the Minors from episcopal jurisdiction, permitted the brethren to bury the faithful in Franciscan cemeteries, provided for things "useful," as well as necessary, to the Minors, extended the powers of the nuntii, and, in general, contributed to the evolution of the poverty standard. The bulls to which reference is here made are the Nimis iniqua of 1231, the Ordinem vestrum of 1245, and the Cum a nobis of 1250. The text of these papal pronouncements is available in J. H. Sbaralea (ed.), Bullarium Franciscanum (Quaracchi, 1929-), I, 68-70, 74-77, 401, 537.

⁵²The Minors became prominent in the theological faculty at Oxford as early as 1229. Alexander of Hales, a Franciscan, exercised a profound influence in Paris. Pope Gregory IX constructed for the Minors a monastery in Bologna which was capable of housing a School of Theology (in 1236). See Little, op. cit., pp. 55-71.

⁵³The Observants rejected all novelties in the order and yearned for a return to the primitive simplicity of the poverty ideal. Their interpretation of the Rule and Will was stricter than that of the Conventuals. The record of the conflict between the two points of view is long and dreary. On one

severe and lengthy struggle for control of the order. St. Bonaventura became the great reconciler. He was convinced that total renunciation for Christ is the apex of evangelical perfection; at the same time he sought to justify⁵⁴ the transformation of Francis' ideal in the light of the practical and spiritual necessities of life.

Salimbene was obviously an interested spectator of these developments, which must have influenced his life and thinking to a considerable degree. He does not, however, philosophize on the subject. He simply takes it for granted that absolute poverty is meritorious, and that, at the same time, the order of St. Francis was but exercising its legitimate spiritual

53 (continued)

occasion seventy-two spiritual leaders were banished by papal order. John of Parma, on the other hand, was sympathetic with the Spirituals, for Joachim, abbot of Flora, had prophesied their emergence as leaven in the days of ecclesiastical compromise and corruption. Consult Gratien, op. cit., pp. 388-475, for the emergence and decline of the Spirituals. An excellent volume on the subject is Muzzey, op. cit.

⁵⁴St. Bonaventura sought to demonstrate that the evolution of the order was not contrary to the intentions of Francis. He felt that the Rule was to be observed within the limits of moderation. He approved the innovations which the Rule did not specifically condemn, and which necessity imposed. His criterion was that the text of the Rule should be interpreted, not in the light of Francis' Testament (which, he claimed, did not have the force of law), but in the light of papal declarations. The scholarly saint was convinced that the order still "possessed" nothing, for all their property really belonged to the Holy See; the order simply had its "use". A lucid discussion of this matter is given in Sessevalle, op. cit., I, 75f., and in Gratien, op. cit., pp. 266-320. See Bonaventura, Apologia pauperum contra calumniatorem, XI, 5f. This treatise is available in the Opera, VIII, 233-330.

prerogative in owning property. It causes our author no concern when he reports, for example, the fact that money was given to the Minors, or that buildings were acquired or enlarged. The Chronicle mentions many financial transactions and building enterprises in which the Franciscans engaged. The author writes without apology or explanation that William of Foliano, bishop of Reggio, sold to the Minors of his city the imperial palace which his predecessor had received as a gift from the emperor. The brethren bought the building with funds they had received from the sisters of St. Clare, to whom they had sold their former dwelling-place (463). Years later the Franciscans in Reggio bought several homes adjoining their property and made extensive alterations to their buildings (487). The Minors of Parma built a new refectorium in the area of the city where the Parmesans had previously held their annual market (518). Such items of information abound throughout the volume. Certainly St. Francis' ideal of poverty underwent a strange transformation during the decades following his death.

The Dominicans and Franciscans were, of course, the two leading mendicant orders of the thirteenth century. But our chronicler is aware of the existence of other orders and religious groups,⁵⁵ many of which were either offshoots from, or

⁵⁵Among the groups mentioned by the author are the order of Peter Peccator with headquarters in Ravenna (116, 487); the five hermit orders (St. Augustine, St. William, Favali, Britti, Jambonitani), which Pope Alexander IV united into one congregation (254); the white nuns, who were always friendly towards

spurious imitations of, the Franciscans.

He had gleaned a great deal of information about the order of St. Clare.⁵⁶ Both his mother and his sister Karacosa entered the order (55). The latter became prioress of the convent of Reggio (54). Normally the relations between the Minors and the Clarissan sisters were friendly.⁵⁷ It seems strange that the two abbesses of the order whom Salimbene selects for description were women for whom he had little respect. The first of these was Cecilia, abbess of a wealthy convent near Lavagna. Brother Boniface, visitor of the province of Lombardy, was removing nuns from this area on account of the incessant wars. At last only two women were left in the convent, and the visitor was able to transfer one of these to Genoa. But

55 (continued)

the Minors (255, 521); the Knights Templars (262, 604); a sect of hermits established by two Englishmen in the mountains of Romagnola (329); and the order of Mantorano, founded by Bernardus Vitius and others (612). For literature on such orders see Hélyot, op. cit., III, 7-21, VI, 21-34, or Heimbucher, op. cit., I., 536-546.

56 Salimbene describes St. Clare as a woman "whom blessed Francis converted to Christ" (453). He relates that Pope Alexander IV enrolled her in the catalogue of the saints and celebrated the first mass in her honor (316). "Papa vero Alexander canonicaverat sanctam Clare, et . . . papa celebravit primam missam de sancta Clara. . . ." This took place in 1255. For a brief outline of the saint's career see Heimbucher, op. cit., I, 815-817.

57 When, for example, the cardinals sent a gift of pork to the Franciscans in Ferrara--a present, by the way, which had been donated to the prelates--the Minors shared the meat with the nuns of St. Clare (446).

Cecilia so cruelly mistreated the other that her victim appealed to Boniface for redress. The minister-general's representative weighed the matter carefully, excommunicated the haughty abbess, and personally conducted the nun to Genoa. The chronicler mentions a second abbess, leader of the convent of Gatharola at Lucca, who did her best to excite the populace against the Minors. The reason for this unseemly conduct was that she was about to be ejected from office for inefficiency and violence. The ruse she employed to bring the Franciscans into disrepute was shrewd: she gained friends by sending gifts to the lay relatives of the sisters in the convent; and, according to our author, she maligned the friars by suggesting to the laity that the reason the Franciscans wanted to put her out was that she prevented the Minors from committing adultery with the sisters. The lesson which these tales teach is that the rule of women is at all costs to be avoided (67).

Nowhere is Salimbene's loyalty to the Franciscan order more evident than in his extended passages dealing with the spurious mendicant groups of his day. These strange orders seemed to spring up like mushrooms after St. Francis' death. The friar asserts that the Minors and the Preachers had taught men to beg, and that almost anyone could don the proper garments and establish a mendicant's rule (254). He mentions several of these new fellowships. But the two orders which receive the brunt of his vitriolic attack are the Segalelli and the Gaudentes.

The Segalelli, according to the chronicler, originated in Parma. A certain illiterate layman of the city, Gerardinus Segalellus, sought to be received into the Franciscan order (in 1260). His request was refused, and all day long he remained in the Minors' church, laying his plans for the future. In the building there was a painting of the apostles, seated in a circle and wearing sandals on their feet and mantles thrown around their shoulders. As the rejected man studied this picture he conceived a bright idea and at once translated it into action.⁵⁸ He allowed his hair to grow and adopted what he considered to be the apostolic garb. He sold his home and distributed the proceeds, not to the poor, but to ribald youths who were playing in the city square, who straightway took the money and with it began to gamble, and blasphemed the name of God (256). Gerardinus wanted to imitate Christ. He had himself circumcised, and then was suckled at the breast of some unknown woman. His next step was to go out to the highway and call to the passersby to enter his vineyard. Those who knew him regarded him as an idiot; but some of the ignorant hill-dwellers took him at his word and ate of the grapes which they thought belonged to him. It was not long before the number of the

⁵⁸The invaluable work on religious orders by Hélyot, op. cit. reveals the large number of ascetic groups which came into being in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. It is not strange that a man of Segalellus' impetuosity should organize his own sect when the Minors rejected him.

Segalelli multiplied. A disaffected servant⁵⁹ of the Parmesan Minors became procurator of the new order, which from this time on assembled in a house to eat and sleep. The citizens of Parma welcomed the new group and began to give to them more freely than to the established orders.

Our friar describes the activities of the Segalelli. They roamed around all day looking at women. The rest of the time they spent in loafing and living off the perspiration and labor of others (259). Their efforts at preaching were futile, for they taught deceit and sowed heresy (276), and were as effective as a bird without wings or a man without legs (280). The founder of the order, according to Salimbene, was clearly a magnetic personality. The absurd, and even obscene, manner in which he prepared his disciples to go forth as missionaries into the world, indicates that he was a spell-binder of the first rank (264). As late as 1284, seventy-two persons, both young and old, came to Gerardinus their leader, eager to be deprived of their goods, to receive his blessing, and to be permitted to wander through the world on his behalf. He took them all into a church, undressed them in order that "naked they might follow the naked Christ," re clothed them and sent them forth with his

⁵⁹This Robert later apostatized from the Segalelli (260). He had his hair cut and his beard shaved, and took to himself a hermit sister to wife. He confessed his errors to Salimbene and gave the friar a first-hand report of conditions within the order. There is possibly a tinge of jealousy in the chronicler's bitter attack upon the "apostles".

benediction (563). A few days later twelve young women came to Parma to see the master for a similar reason. They called themselves the "Apostolic Sisters" of the men described above (564).

The chronicler can scarcely find words caustic enough to characterize these "Apostoli" of Segalellus. He calls them ribald swineherds and ignoble fools (255).⁶⁰ He lists twelve aspects of their imbecility (272f.). They were without a suitable head; they went about alone; they were guilty of aimless vagabondage; they had no real discipline, and no teachers to instruct them. Forsaking the sort of work to which they were best adapted (i.e. that of tending cows or swine), they went from house to house begging indiscriminately. They attempted to preach, although they were altogether ignorant and had no divine commission⁶¹ to proclaim the Word of God. They took upon themselves the sacred task of preaching in spite of the fact that they had no papal authority. Instead of resembling

⁶⁰The author adds five reasons why they should not be called "Apostoli": Jesus ordained a specific number of such followers; these were exactly prefigured in the Old Testament; even the apostle Paul said that he was unworthy of the name; he yields to the devil who exalts himself too highly; and, lastly, the example of Adam's ambition is to be noted, for he wanted to snatch divinity, and therefore he lost felicity.

⁶¹See the superb treatise by S. Bonaventura, Quare Fratres Minores praedicant et confessiones audiant, available in Opera, VIII, 375-385. It was widely believed in the thirteenth century that a heavenly commission and ecclesiastical permission were the prerequisites of preaching. Appointment by bishops to the sacred function is the theme of the tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, available in Mansi, op. cit., XXII, cols. 998, 999.

the apostles, they were precisely the opposite of these men of God.⁶² They wanted to live by charity and yet they had nothing with which to repay their donors: they could not preach or celebrate mass (285); nor could they confer other spiritual benefits upon their benefactors. At the same time they defrauded the Minors, who ought really to be receiving the alms bestowed upon them. Finally, Segalellus had the audacity to give them a high and noble name, "Apostoli", although their number was not twelve or seventy, and they were not sent of God.

Salimbene is sure that Gerardinus' followers were ministers of Satan, seducers, deceivers, robbers, and fornicators⁶³ (287). They were clearly not in a state of salvation, for at least three reasons: they did not fear God nor honor man; they were often guilty of adultery and sodomy, and were worthy of burning or prison; and although they sold their homes and other possessions, they gave nothing to the poor but retained the money for their own uses. Thus they failed to keep the three major vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, the breach of any one of which disqualifies one as a friar (268-271).

⁶²An obscene illustration of the immorality and deception of the "Apostoli" is presented toward the close of the Chronicle (619, 620). As the result of this deed the bishop of Parma, according to our author, expelled the sect from the city.

⁶³Similar criticisms were levelled at other groups whose teachings were regarded as erroneous and subversive. The Catharists, for example, were often the objects of bitter denunciation. The repressive measures utilized against them are discussed in Guiraud, op. cit., II, 413-590.

Discord entered the ranks of the Segalelli before the movement was very old. The chronicler witnessed the confusion when he was living in Faenza in 1274 (261). Gerardinus himself refused to be the chief of the sect, and soon a severe strife commenced for its leadership. One of the contestants, Guido Putagius, proved to be too pompous, and became unpopular with the "Apostles". At the height of the struggle he came to Salimbene and begged the friar to get him out of Faenza lest his enemies seize him (262). The persecuted man described the conditions which obtained in his order, and the chronicler relates them with considerable relish. The Apostles' difficulties delighted him; and when at length the order was abolished by papal decree⁶⁴ his joy knew no bounds. At the Council of Lyons in 1274, he writes, the pope "broke the order of the Saccati, and the congregation, or dispersion of the rustics and ribalds, precursors of the Antichrist, whose leader was Ghirardinus Segalellus" (489). The founder of the order himself came to a ludicrous but tragic end. After he had sent forth his disciples into the world, he remained in Parma, acting even more ridiculously than usual (265). He changed the style of his clothing and soon resembled a clown more than a prophet. His

⁶⁴Mansi, op. cit., XXIV, col. 130. Salimbene states (489), ". . . papa Gregorius decimus, . . . in generali concilio Lugdunensi cassavit religiones mendicantes, que noviter apparuerant, ut Saccatorum et istorum ribaldorum, qui se appellabant apostolos. . . ."

conversation became so scurrilous, and his immorality so notorious, that the bishop of Parma put him in prison. Later the prelate allowed him the liberty of his palace, and thenceforth the pseudo-apostle was treated as a court jester.

Another sect which, in the eyes of Salimbene at least, was somewhat similar to the Segalelli, was that of the Gaudentes. The chronicler describes their origin in Parma in the time of the Alleluia, and the clothing they wore (467f.). The official name of the new order was the "Knights of the blessed Virgin Mary."⁶⁵ They were derisively called "Gaudentes" by those who felt that they had become brothers because they did not want to give to the poor. The movement spread as rapidly as bread in the hands of the hungry. Its rule was formulated in 1261. But the sect was despised by the papal curia for five reasons: in spite of their wealth its adherents built no monasteries, hospitals, bridges, or churches; they were guilty of rapine, and failed to restore their ill-gotten goods; although they consumed their riches in expensive vanities and feasts, they wished to obtain special privileges from the pontiff; they were noted for their greed; and they were altogether of less value than the thief on the cross.

The rivalry of these schismatic orders and the Franciscans was often keen. But the chronicler points out that the older

⁶⁵The origin and nature of this sect are set forth in Helyot, op. cit., IV, 481-483.

and more established religious groups were jealous of the Minors too. When Brother Bonagratia was provincial minister in Bologna, he had an unfortunate experience with the Benedictine monks in the monastery of Nonantola. A certain friar by the name of Brother Guidolinus left the Franciscans and entered the order of St. Benedict. He behaved so well and became so popular that he was elected abbot of the monastery. This created friction between the monks and the Minors. The friars appealed to John Gaietanus, their governor (and later Nicholas III), and prevented Guidolinus from being installed as abbot. The monks in return spent ten thousand pounds in an effort to have this ruling countermanded. Failing in this attempt, they refused to elect another abbot, but made Guidolinus lord of the abbacy, as though he were actually the official in question. The ex-Minor was greatly beloved by all. He welcomed the Franciscans into the monastery as visitors, and asked them to keep two of their copyists always in the building (at monastery expense), on account of the large number of books the Benedictines possessed. Yet the Franciscans were unwilling to forget their quarrel with the monks. In 1288 they obtained from Pope Nicholas IV, a Minor, a privilege which guaranteed that no one who left the friars could be promoted to the rulership of another order (624, 625).

The Cistercians,⁶⁶ too, had their difficulties with the

⁶⁶A significant discussion of this order's origin and expansion is found in Hélyot, op. cit., V, 336-362. The relationship between the Franciscans and the Cistercians is described in Gratien, op. cit., pp. 571-579.

Franciscans. Salimbene quotes extensively from a communication which the emperor, Rudolfus, addressed to the older order on this subject (623). The ruler stated that the Minors were shunned and mistreated by the Cistercians "to the shame of the entire church." He instructed the white monks to abandon their jealousy and hate and to repeal all unwise decrees which had been made against the friars. He threatened the Cistercians with reprisals if his instructions were not obeyed within one month: he would nullify every favor, indulgence, and privilege which the order had received from him or his predecessors; and he would forbid his citizens to give of their

possessions or mobile things to the Cistercian order, or to transfer them to them under another title, without our expressed consent, chiefly because of their pride and arrogance, and of the great number of possessions in which the said order is known to abound.

The chronicler explains why the Cistercians were aroused against the Minors. A certain friar forsook the order and entered the rival group. He, too, succeeded so well that he became abbot of a large monastery. The Franciscans, jealous of his progress, and fearing lest others follow his example, seized him, brought him back to their home, and punished him severely. The Cistercians were furious, for five reasons: the Minors had punished an innocent man; the relationship between the victim and the order of St. Francis had already been

dissolved; they captured the man when he was clothed in Cistercian garb; he was no ordinary monk, but an abbot; and he had behaved well in their order, and was therefore worthy of better treatment (623, 624). But when the white monks received the emperor's letter, they hastily changed their attitude, and annulled all their edicts which were unfavorable to the Minors.

The secular clergy⁶⁷ resented the popularity of the Franciscans even more than the other groups did. Throughout the century they seemed to view the Minors with jaundiced eye. Salimbene dwells at considerable length upon the contention which arose on account of this deep-seated jealousy (404-426). On several occasions he is confronted with the complaints of the clergy, and he often defends his order against their attack.

There were apparently six chief accusations which the seculars brought against the Religious. Salimbene enumerates these charges, and replies to them, sometimes patiently, and at others with a strong counter-attack. The first of the seculars' objections was that the mendicants did not preach that people should give their tithes to the church. The chronicler answers this charge by stating that the Minors' task was not primarily to preach the tithe, but "to win to God souls which the devil tries to rob" (423). Yet the friars, he asserts, did

⁶⁷The first manifestations of the struggle between this group and the mendicants are mentioned in Gratien, op. cit., pp. 200-205. See especially the footnotes on these pages.

often preach on the tithe when occasion demanded, and they never preached against it. The author continues:

We do not complain if they fail to come and wash our dishes or cook for us. If we did they would consider us fools, for no one has deputed them to the task. So we regard them as absurd when they speak thus concerning the matters above.

Salimbene admits that the tithe is taught in the Scriptures. But he expresses amazement (405) that the clergy should impose upon the friars the burden of preaching it. The seculars might as well complain, he suggests, that the Minors failed to harvest and thresh their crops. Further, he writes:

In many homes of the prebends there is such an abundance of food, and they have so much land that twenty pairs of oxen would not be able to plow it; I do not see with what conscience I would dare to preach that tithes be given to them, especially since they give more ecclesiastical riches to their rich relatives and mistresses than to the poor of Christ (406).

A second exception which the clerics took to the Franciscans was that the friars buried the faithful and thus defrauded the church of many temporal goods. Salimbene answers this attack by insisting that, according to papal decree, anyone may choose to be buried where he will. He asserts that the first few years after its founding the Franciscan order refrained from such burials⁶⁸ because they loved the secular clergy and

⁶⁸An interesting discussion of burial privileges and difficulties in the middle ages is found in G. G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion (Cambridge, 1936), III, 41-64.

wished to have peace with them. But the clerics failed to appreciate their magnanimity. Now at length the Minors realized their error in refusing burial to such important personages as St. Elizabeth, or the Count of Provence, father of the queens of England and France.

Again, the Minors were avowedly hearing confessions against the will of the clerics. To this charge the chronicler replies by discussing the entire question of confession. He maintains that normally one should confess to his own priest; but there were cases when an individual could open his heart to another. The believer was permitted, for example, to confess to someone other than his parochial priest if he was on a journey, or if he was in the process of changing his residence, or if he had sinned within the borders of another parish. He had the same privilege if his own priest was ignorant or malicious, or if the cleric was a revealer of secrets or a solicitor to evil. Finally, if the parishioner was about to die or was about to enter a just war, he could confess his sins to the most available clergyman (409).

To the objection that the Minors usurped the clerics' office of preaching Salimbene has a scathing reply.⁶⁹ He remarks

⁶⁹The author denounces the clerics sharply for this attack on his order. He writes that they did not even want the Minors to live (418). Yet the friars, he maintains, were far more useful to the church of God than those who had prebends and who failed in their obligations. The clergymen were opposed to begging; and yet there were many mendicants who, if they had been out in the world, would have had far better prebends than their opponents'. He continues:

that the wicked lives and profound ignorance of the seculars rendered them unworthy to preach.⁷⁰ But when the friars, who had a perfect right to proclaim the Word of God, addressed the people, the hearts of the listeners became accustomed to preaching, so that they were willing to listen even to the clerics (424).

To these four major criticisms of the Minors the secular clergy added two others. The first of these was that the friars' conventual masses prevented the clerics from receiving the offerings to which they were entitled. The chronicler's rebuttal of this attack is brief: he simply remarks that the Franciscan Rule⁷¹ required the Minors to perform the sacred office according to the custom of the church; that they received no offerings from the people in connection with the mass; and that even if no laymen attended the masses, they would sing them just the

69 (continued)

"They should realize that we have left all those things behind us, and that we live from day to day by begging. We have no wine cellars or granaries, in which they abound. Yet we are doing their work when we preach, hear confessions, or give salutary and useful advice."

⁷⁰Mutual charges and accusations continued between the mendicant orders and the secular clergy until the Council of Vienne, in 1311. Clement V, in the bull Super cathedram, gave to the Minors complete liberty to preach and to perform other pastoral duties. This bull is available in Sbaralea, op. cit., IV, 498-500. See Zawart, op. cit., p. 245.

⁷¹The First Rule, 3, where it is written that masses should be said by the Minors "secundum consuetudinem clericorum Romane ecclesie." See Boehmer, op. cit., p. 3.

same. The last of the clerics' accusations was that the Franciscans were great woman hunters ("doniatores"), a fact which was proved by the readiness with which they sought out and conversed with women. Salimbene parries this thrust by terming it malicious, and stating that the charge was merely an alibi for the seculars' own lasciviousness and vanity (425, 426).

In spite of the opposition of their enemies, and encouraged by the warm reception they received on the part of the populace, the mendicant orders continued to exercise a deep influence upon the society of the thirteenth century. St. Francis had felt that his "parvuli" were ordained of God. His successors continued to be convinced that their movement was undergirded by divine power and thus destined to perform great and lasting achievements.

Chapter V

SALIMBENE AND THE UNSEEN WORLD

In our chronicler's day the line of demarcation between the visible and the invisible worlds was often faintly drawn. Men were more credulous than in later centuries when science and discovery had explained many of the mysteries of nature. Divine interventions in the course of history were not only anticipated, but welcomed by the faithful. For the church had taught for centuries that spiritual forces of good and ill were ever near the believer, preserving him from harm or enticing him to evil. Of course there were skeptics then as now. The heart of man has always been given to doubts and misgivings. But in general the people among whom Salimbene moved felt that the unseen powers were as near and real as the things of sense and time.

The author of the Chronicle shares the views of his contemporaries. He is by no means gullible: he does not

hesitate to question the rumors and reports which are brought to his attention. Yet throughout his volume it is clear that he is a child of his century, and that he has adopted as his own the prevalent conceptions with regard to the world of the intangible and unseen.

Nowhere is this attitude more apparent than in his description of the miraculous. Sober recorder of history though he is, he includes in his book a large number of anecdotes which either border on the incredible or are nothing short of impossible. He is perfectly naive and childlike in narrating most of these tales. But occasionally he doubts their authenticity and admits that they are hard for an intelligent person to accept as genuine.

He is an earnest believer, for example, in the miraculous power of relics. The Roman Catholic Church had a rule on this subject with which he is thoroughly familiar.¹ He writes that relics ought not to be revered until the church has first approved the person in question and enrolled him in the catalogue of the saints (502). In the course of his travels Salimbene

¹The canon law on this subject was clear in the chronicler's day. See, for example, canon 62 of the Fourth Lateran Council, available in Schroeder, op. cit., p. 286: "And let no one presume to venerate publicly new ones relics unless they have been approved by the Roman pontiff." The preservation, worship, and influence of relics are discussed in E. Lavissee (ed.), Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution (Paris, 1911), III, 1, 306-310. In this volume (p. 306) A. Luchaire writes, "À vrai dire, le peuple ne connaît qu'une religion: le culte des reliques." See also the valuable chapters on "Relics" in G. G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion (Cambridge, 1936), III, 87-148.

visited several cities where the relics of saints were venerated, and he writes enthusiastically concerning the nature and powers of these tokens of the dead.

In discussing the generosity of the Archbishop of Ravenna, he relates that the prelate gave to him several bones from the corpse of blessed Elias which were once in a stone box in the monastery of St. Lawrence (400). The author treasured these portions of the dead saint's body, and placed them in the altar of the Minors' church in Parma.² His one regret seems to be that he could not have Elias' head, which a group of Hermits had already taken away. In Tarascon the chronicler was allowed to kiss the arm of St. Martha (295). He narrates a legend dealing with the miraculous properties of this saint's body. When Clovis, king of France, was desperately ill he journeyed to the holy tomb of Martha and was strikingly healed of his ailment.

The friar tells of at least two instances in which there was sharp disagreement as to the exact whereabouts of a saint's corpse. The citizens of Classe claimed that they owned the body of St. Apollinaris. But the residents of Ravenna asserted that they had it, on the ground that one of their archbishops in previous years had removed it from Classe and placed it in Ravenna's Church of St. Martin (521). But even greater contention arose in the case of the relics of St. Mary Magdalene. Two

²The epitaph which he composed and placed near the remains is quoted in the Chronicle. It states bluntly that Salimbene buried the bones of father Elias in the sacred place (400).

separate villages claimed that the honored saint lay buried within their borders. But, Salimbene writes, Mary's entire corpse, save for a leg, was discovered in 1283 in the area of Provence; and, he adds knowingly, "it is clear that the body of a woman cannot be in three places" (521). The discovery of the treasure³ created a stir in southern France, and the Count of Provence decreed that it should be put on display and that a solemn feast should be held in its honor. Thus ended all cavillings concerning the remains of this "blessed" saint.

In confirmation of the fact that the disinterred corpse was actually that of Mary Magdalene, the author continues, the Lord wrought a miracle through the body. It appears that a young butcher told his friend that he had just visited the relics of Mary and that he had kissed her leg. The skeptical friend denied that it was really the saint's limb which had been kissed, and insisted that it was the leg of some beast of burden which the clerics were using with which to defraud the ignorant. This accusation made the butcher indignant. A strife ensued in which the incredulous friend pierced Mary's defender with a sword but could not wound him. The butcher then struck his opponent and the wicked man fell dead. The father of the slain man had the butcher arrested, and in course of time the unfortunate swordsman was condemned to be hanged. At this

³Similar tales abounded in the middle ages. See, for example, the record of the discovery of the head of St. Genevieve in Lavissee, op. cit., III, 1, 308.

crisis Mary Magdalene intervened. She appeared to the doomed man and promised to free him. The next day when he was put on the gallows a startling thing happened. To the amazement of the spectators, a white dove descended from heaven, loosed the noose from Mary's defender, and lowered him unhurt to the ground (522).⁴ Thus did the saint protect her faithful followers.

There were other holy persons whose remains impressed Salimbene profoundly. The wandering friar saw several precious relics of St. Columban in Bobbio (332), and he once lived in Ravenna near the spot where the body of St. Liberius was buried (169). During the course of his travels, too, he was able to visit or learn about places which were hallowed by the presence of sacred objects other than the bodies of the dead. He is not sure whether the Gana waterpots on display at Bobbio were genuine or not (332). At Alverne he was shown a large quantity of wood from the cross of Calvary; a legate sent by Pope Alexander IV to St. Louis, king of France, had received it from the monarch (556). And in Reggio, when a church was destroyed, the consecrated Host was seen among the ruins. It had been in the same spot for three hundred years, and was still as white and beautiful as when first prepared (339).

The sincere believer of the thirteenth century held all such reminders of days gone by in high esteem, for he regarded

⁴The chronicler adds that the officials, at the insistence of the slain man's father, wanted to hang the butcher again. But the fellow tradesmen of the rescued man prevented this, and praised God and blessed Mary for the astounding miracle of liberation (522).

them as priceless links with the past and potential aids in the present. It is not to be wondered at that imposters should appear and seek to deceive the people with counterfeit relics. The fact that the church deemed it necessary to pass laws concerning the worship of these objects indicates that some of the pretenders were subtle and frequently successful in their efforts to trick the faithful.

Salimbene asserts that there were numerous "trufatores" in his day (77). An interesting example of deceit is found in the case of one Albertus of Cremona, through whose body it was claimed that miracles could be performed. The chronicler tells of long processions which were formed in Parma to march to the church of St. Peter where the relics of the departed scoundrel lay. The fanatical crowds carried crosses and banners, singing and shouting as they moved through the streets of the city. The sponsors of this hoax saw to it that pictures of the deceased were painted in churches and on many walls and gates of the city. They announced, too, that whoever failed to attend their celebrations was to be regarded as a heretic. Salimbene asserts that at the height of these demonstrations the secular clergy would cry out to the mendicants, "You believe that no one can do miracles except your saints, but you are deceived, as now is evident." But it was not long before God intervened to bring an end to the foolishness. An enthusiast arrived one day from Cremona with the claim that he had in his possession the smallest toe of Albertus' right foot. The excited Parmesans, in solemn

procession, carried the strange object to the cathedral of the Virgin, where it was deposited above the high altar. But when the canon of the cathedral approached and kissed it, he noticed its stench and reported the matter to his fellow clerics. These all recognized that they had been deceived, and, our chronicler adds, they retired in confusion, for they had only one pinch of garlic among them (501f.). Portions of Albertus' body were in Parma but the corpse was buried in Cremona. The author states that many noble ladies travelled to the latter city in the hope that they might be healed of their maladies. "Their error was great," he continues, "to call on one who could not hear" (503).⁵

The performance of "miracles" occasioned little surprise in a century which was steeped in church tradition on the subject. Salimbene is familiar with tales of the Fathers dealing with marvels of an extraordinary nature. The miraculous deeds reported by St. Gregory in his Dialogues were popular in the circles in which the friar moved. He cites a few of these astounding accomplishments: Constantius, for example, was a man of such sanctity that he was able to make water burn in lamps in place of oil (138); the presbyter Amantius had the unusual power of healing the sick (215); and Fortunatus exorcised demons in the name of the Lord (216).⁶

⁵Salimbene feels that the bishops who allowed such abuses to take place in their dioceses were worthy to be removed from office. He admits, however, that no one seemed able or willing to cope with the situation (502).

⁶These illustrations are from Gregory's Dialogues, I, 5, III, 35, and I, 10. An excellent edition of this work is E. G. Gardner, The Dialogues of St. Gregory, surnamed the Great: Pope

The chronicler relates other anecdotes dealing with wonders which took place in his own day. Some of these were mere hearsay, but others he claims to have seen himself or to have heard from trustworthy sources. He does not question the authenticity of a weird tale concerning an illiterate man in the land of the Saracens who moved a mountain and thus freed the Christians (215). He relates in all soberness the remarkable manner in which the honor of the blessed Virgin was once upheld when the apostate Niger⁷ of Lecca-terra entered her church and set it on fire. The wicked man challenged the Virgin with the words, "Defend yourself, St. Mary, if you can" (592). As soon as he had uttered this defiance, a lance, hurled from out the darkness, pierced his armor and he fell down dead. The chronicler adds that it was commonly believed that Niger, who was himself a famous lancer, had been slain by Mercurius, defender of the glorious Virgin. The miraculous power of the Mother of the Lord was regarded as infinite.⁸ Numerous descriptions of the manner

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of Rome and the First of that Name (London, 1911). See MPL, LXXVII, col. 149ff.

⁷The only additional light which the chronicler throws upon this enemy of the faith is the fact that Niger was from Modena and that he lost his life in connection with the city's civil strife (582).

⁸The amazing influence of the cult of Mary upon the life and thinking of the middle ages is admirably described in such volumes as Caesarius of Heisterbach, The Dialogue on Miracles, translated by H. von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929); Johannes Herolt, Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, translated by C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1938); E. A. W. Budge (tr.), One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary,

in which she exercised this power are given in the Chronicle. One of the most impressive of these is in connection with the deliverance of Parma when the city was attacked by the armies of Frederick II. The Parmesan women implored the Virgin to protect their town. In order to gain her attention they presented her with a miniature city fabricated of silver. Salimbene declares that he later saw the beautiful little model. The donation of the gift set the wheels of power into motion: the Mother asked the Child, the Child listened and heeded the request of the one whom he could not deny, and Parma was liberated (196).

The spheres in which miracles occurred were of various sorts. Sometimes the divine intervention took place in the world of nature. In the winter of 1266, when the French entered Apulia to help King Charles against Manfred, there was no ice, snow, or rain. The weather was as balmy as in the month of May. The chronicler insists, "This was done by the Lord, who came to the aid of the church and to the extermination of Manfred" (470). An enumeration of some of the miraculous tales in the Chronicle will indicate their diversification. A young man was once tempted to sin by a lascivious woman. He began to pray earnestly, and when he opened his eyes he found that he had been transported across the river (240). The preachers in

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Translated from Ethiopic Manuscripts for the Most Part in the British Museum, with Extracts from some Ancient European Versions, and Illustrations from the Paintings in Manuscripts by Ethiopic Artists (London, 1923); and A. M. de Liguori, The Glories of Mary (New York and Cincinnati, 1902).

the days of the Alleluia not only proclaimed the Word of God, but also performed breathtaking miracles, as Salimbene "saw with his own eyes" (595). John of Parma was so holy that once when he was celebrating mass and his lazy helper overslept, a heavenly assistant joined him in the service and brought him great consolation (310). Brother Symon of Monte-sarculo, whom Pope Innocent IV sent into Apulia in the interests of the church, was captured and put to death by the emperor. But the Lord wrought miracles through him (318). Frederick II once gave the Minors in Apulia an aged church which had fallen into disrepair. A large nut tree had grown on the site where the altar had stood. When the tree was cut down and sawed into planks, every piece had on it a picture of Christ on the cross. Salimbene remarks that the miracle probably took place because the spot was sacred, but he also states that some people believed that the marvel was the result of the influence of the stars (206).

The author was acquainted with at least one Minor whose miraculous powers extended in numerous directions. He mentions three exploits of Brother Nicholas of Monte-feltro. A certain young friar was one day substituting for the cook in the kitchen when an unfortunate thing occurred: his precious breviary fell into the pot and was thoroughly soaked. The disconsolate brother began to wail, for the book was marred beyond recognition, and it was a borrowed one at that. Brother Nicholas, learning of his friend's plight, comforted him and asked to borrow the ruined breviary. He took the book, besought the Lord to repair

it, and, behold, it was restored to its pristine beauty (558). Nicholas also had authority over diseases. A Bolognese woman once had a vision in which it was revealed to her that if the Minor would make the sign of the cross over her hairlipped son, the lad would be healed. She brought the boy to the monastery and told her vision to Brother Andreas, the guardian. Andreas knew that Nicholas was so humble that he would not consent to make a display of his therapeutic ability. The wily Minor, therefore, tried to deceive Nicholas into effecting the cure. He asked all the brethren to make the sign over the afflicted child, hoping that when Nicholas' turn came the child would be healed. But the ruse did not work, for Nicholas insisted that he was unworthy to perform such a miracle. At length the guardian ordered him to make the sign of the cross. Reluctantly he obeyed, and at once the boy was liberated and his happy mother removed the bandages from his wound. But perhaps Brother Nicholas' most surprising exhibition of power took place in connection with a young friar in the Bologna monastery who snored so abominably that none of the other Minors could sleep (558). "*Hic, dum dormiret, ita fortiter stertebat, quod nullus poterat cum eo in eadem domo quietem habere. Et, quod plus est, non solum dormientes, verum etiam et vigilantes horribiliter perturbabat.*" A consultation was held in the room of John of Parma, and it was decided that the youth should be returned to his mother, who had deceived the order by entrusting to their care one who would prove himself to be a nuisance. "Yet he was

not restored to his mother," the chronicler continues, "for God decided to do a miracle through Brother Nicholas." The tender hearted Minor, realizing that the boy was not to blame for his ailment, invited the lad to assist him at mass. When the service was over he touched the novice's face and nose with his hands, and the snorer was suddenly healed of his malady (559). Salimbene assures his niece that this was a true miracle, and reminds her that he was in the Bologna monastery at the time.

It seemed to the chronicler to be nothing unusual for God to perform wonders when men or women of especial sanctity passed away. The author tells of many astonishing events in connection with the death of such persons. Among those who "were illustrious with miracles" at the time of their decease were John of Ollis (314), Brother Marcus of Monte-feltro (308), Brother Symon Contessa (318), the patriarch of Antioch (180), Rainaldus of Arezzo (328), Hugo of Provence (554), Brother Gerardus of Modena (76), and, of course, St. Elizabeth, from whose body hallowed oil continued to flow (36). It was regarded as a mark of divine favor whenever miraculous powers were granted to the bodies of expiring believers. But on at least two occasions there were Minors who were so extremely humble and holy that they besought God not to perform miracles through their bodies. Brother Nicholas and Brother Egidius of Perugia made such requests of the Lord. Their wishes were respected, as was indicated by the fact that when they died nothing startling occurred (557).

There were, of course, men who pretended to have miraculous powers, but who actually deceived the people. The chronicler's description of these racketeers suggests that, although he accepted without reservation the miracles of the saints and holy men enumerated above, he had no intention of being duped by charlatans. He writes that the Paduans were cheated by a certain Antonius Peregrinus, and the Ferrarese by an Armannus Puncilovus. These two rascals created a stir. Salimbene avows that the "new devotion" which their claims occasioned was due to five causes. People flocked to see the imposters, first, because many were seeking to be healed of their diseases; others were merely inquisitive and wanted to behold novelties; the clerics were jealous of the Religious and therefore encouraged those whom they regarded as the competitors of the orders; the bishops and church canons received a share of the money which the crowds paid, particularly in the case of Puncilovus; and lastly, the imperial party, which in each instance had been driven out of the city, advertised the fanatical movements, for it hoped that the miracles of the new saints would pacify the spirits of its enemies and that thus its own wanderings might cease (503).

In other cities, too, there were those who falsely claimed to be endowed with supernatural power. John of Vicenza, the famous Dominican orator, sought to perform miracles and made himself a laughing-stock, at least among the Minors (77). A certain Boncompagnus of Florence, who was known to be something of a wit, composed a derisive little poem in which he took

the Prescher to task:

Et Iohannes iohannicat
et saltando choreizat.
Modo salta, modo salta,
qui celorum petis alta!
Saltat iste, saltat ille,
resaltant cohortes mille,
Saltat chorus dominarum,
Saltat dux Venetiarum . . .

Boncompagnus also gave a demonstration of the idiocy of spurious miracles. He announced to his compatriots that he would fly through the air for their edification. Salimbene is amused at this tale. He depicts the surging crowds elbowing their way out toward a hill near Florence where the flight was scheduled to take place. Boncompagnus, he writes, climbed to the summit of the elevation, put on his wings, and then quietly waited. After a long pause he announced to his expectant audience: "Go your way with the divine benediction, and let it suffice you that you have seen the face of Boncompagnus." Thus were the Florentines mocked (78).

The presence and power of the divine were made evident, according to our friar, not only through strange interventions in the course of nature, but through visions and dreams which were vouchsafed to the faithful. The visions which were granted to St. Francis and to Pope Innocent III in connection with the establishment of the Franciscan order have already been mentioned. The chronicler himself was encouraged to beg through a mystical experience. He seems to regard these heavenly

apparitions and fantasies as normal revelations of the will of God.

When lady Cecilia, abbess of a convent of St. Clare, for example, cruelly mistreated one of the sisters her untimely death was remarkably revealed to an aged nun. This devout woman was one day waiting upon God in prayer, Salimbene asserts, when she heard Christ speaking and assuring her that Cecilia would be smitten with disease and removed from the position which she had so degraded. The words of the Son of God were fulfilled: the abbess died unrepentant and accursed, and as her throat was closing she cried out thrice, "On account of the girl has the Lord smitten me" (63-65). Again, when Brother Iacobinus, eloquent pulpiter of the Alleluia days, lay dying, Gerardus of Modena, already deceased, appeared to him and encouraged him with the words, "I am already in the glory of God, to which Christ will soon call you, that you might receive the full reward for your labors and dwell always with the one whom you have so devoutly served." The apparition then disappeared. Brother Iacobinus announced the good news he had heard to the other brethren, who rejoiced with him, and after a few days he slept in the Lord (73). A prior by the name of Galfredus was once chosen bishop of Tournai. He besought the abbot and clerics who had elected him to release him from the high office. Shortly thereafter he lay on his death-bed. A monk who was beloved by him approached him tenderly and said, "Dear friend, tell me after

our separation how you are faring." After Galfredus' death he appeared to the monk in a vision and remarked-- and Salimbene seems to enjoy the statement--"I am getting along well, but it was revealed to me by the Holy Trinity that if I had been promoted to the bishopric, I would have been in the number of the reprobate" (142f.). Our chronicler relates these tales simply and credulously. Sometimes the visions take the form of prophetic insights. A certain lady named Barletta, a devoted friend of the Minors, had intimations of the death in one year of four important personages: The Lord had revealed to her, she claimed, that King Charles, formerly Count of Provence, Pope Martin, King Philip of France, and King Peter of Aragon, would all pass away in the same year. Strange to say--although it does not seem strange to Salimbene--her prediction was fulfilled (564).⁹ At other times the visions are utilized to emphasize a moral. The author relates a beautiful exemplum concerning a holy person who was caring for a sick man. The Virgin appeared and conversed familiarly with him. But soon the patient called and the noble soul at once left the Virgin and hastened to the poor man's side. When he returned, our Lady was waiting for him. "Because you showed yourself kind to the poor," she said, "I waited your return. Had you not gone to your patient's aid

⁹Dreams played an important part in Barletta's predictions. The author gives the details of one of these. When King Charles died, the woman avowedly beheld a large and beautiful garden which was infested by a terrifying dragon. She fled from the beast, which pursued her, crying out with a human voice and beseeching her to wait. At length she paused and asked the monster

I would at once have departed" (76). The merciful, it seems, were always rewarded.

Prominent among the unseen forces with which the chronicler deals are the devil and all his hosts. The friar is familiar with what leaders in his order had to say about Satan, and he feels constrained to fill an entire section of his volume with anecdotes relating to the wicked spirit (566f.). The value of these stories, according to Salimbene, lies in the fact that they teach the astuteness and malice of the wicked one, who constantly seeks to betray men and entice them to death (578).¹⁰

The tales are of various sorts. Some are narrated simply because they are interesting words of warning to the unwary or to the wicked. The chronicler relates that he once knew a canon who had apostatized from the Dominicans. The immorality of the cleric was so notorious that at last he was strangled by the devil with no opportunity for confession, and was buried in filth (427). The prince of the power of the air is invariably presented in the Chronicle as shrewd and cunning.

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who it was. The dragon replied, "I am King Charles, who used to live in this garden, from which Peter of Aragon with one piece of flesh drove me out." He referred, Barletta explained, to the wife of Peter, for whom the ruler had occupied Sicily. Salimbene adds simply that when the Minors heard this they knew that the woman had seen a vision (565).

¹⁰He writes that St. Francis called devils constables ("gastaldi") of our God whom he has appointed for the exercise ("exercitium") of man (572). This is a variation of II Cel. III: 61. He is aware, too, that St. Bonaventura, when preaching used to say that consenting to the devil's suggestions is "as though one wanted to jump from the pinnacle of a tower and on the way down to catch himself by a single stick" (576).

Salimbene states that he often appeared in the shape of a crucifix, or in the guise of the Virgin, or St. Francis, or St. Anthony, or St. Clare. Once the devil promised a simple hearted Religious that he would become pope. The brother was delighted, not because he desired power, but because he wished to bring all the world to peace. When Honorius died and his successor was elected, the Minor was frustrated and disillusioned (566). His faith in the devil's words remained as firm as ever; but he was sure that the prophecy was not fulfilled for the reason that he had failed to commit all the unworthy acts which the father of lies had suggested to him. On another occasion the devil, in the guise of an angel of God, approached a guardian of the Minors and told him that but for one thing the brother would be like the Son of God. Upon inquiry the friar learned that his last remaining need was to be crucified. The adversary even outlined to the guileless Minor the procedure of crucifixion. When the other brethren returned to the monastery they found their friend suspended from a cross and at the point of death. They took him down and scolded him for his fool-hardiness, but he replied that an angel had appeared to him and told him what to do (569). Another Minor--for the devil seemed ever eager to cause the Religious to stumble--one evening ate a partridge and then went to sleep. The enemy at once attacked him; the friar was terrified and cried out, "Am I to be slain simply because I ate a partridge?" The devil replied by denouncing him as a murmuring, discontented, ungrateful wretch.

When the spirit was gone the brother changed his ways for the better; for perhaps, Salimbene suggests, he had sinned in the very points at which the devil assailed him (571).

Demon possession is the subject of some of the writer's anecdotes. In the year 1286, it appears, there was a devil-controlled old man who went from house to house begging. He was under the illusion that there would soon be a severe famine, and he was saving bread against the time of need. One evening he became desperately ill, and it was not long before the devil suffocated him. When he did not appear the following day, his neighbors broke into the house and found his dead body lying on the ground. They discovered quantities of bread and meal stored in chests, and subsequently learned that the miser owned two homes in Reggio (621). Another instance of demon possession was the case of a blacksmith's wife, from whom a cleric, William of Parma, sought to exorcise the evil spirit. The devil agreed to leave the woman, but assured the cleric that he would have him slain for casting him out. A few months later, according to Salimbene, the clergyman became involved in a brawl and was killed. The liberated woman then entered the Parnesan convent of St. Clare (572).

Our author states that the devil has immense power: he is able to cause men to drown, to be burned, to jump over precipices, or to be brought to the point of despair (570).

". . . diabolus tamquam in filiis diffidentie multa mala operatur, quorum aliquos deceptione sua ipsi demones laqueo

faciunt interire, aliquos faciunt desperare, aliquos aquis prefocant, aliquos precipitio collidunt, aliquos in ignem deiciunt. . . ." Many of the tales in the Chronicle illustrate this power. But they also reveal the manner in which Salimbene thinks that the devil's schemes can be foiled. There seemed to be certain formulae in the chronicler's day which were regarded as sufficient to thwart the devices of Satan.

The methods used were varied. A Minor, for instance, was one day praying before the altar. Suddenly the devil appeared in the form of a crucifix. He claimed to be Christ and asked the friar to worship him. The holy man lowered his eyes to the floor and remarked humbly, "Leave, Satan! I do not wish to see Christ in this life." The evil spirit, according to the author, left in confusion (567). The Minor's lowliness of heart had baffled him.

One of the surest schemes to be used in confounding demons, Salimbene writes, is to remind them of the glory of Paradise which they have lost, and of the misery which they have incurred. Several tales illustrate this principle of action. A certain Religious was one day rebuked by the devil for singing the praises of God in an unworthy place: he was in the monastery's little outhouse. His reply was to the effect that he was accustomed to praising the Lord everywhere, for God is in all places and "abhors nothing but the filth of sin." The friar then turned in anger upon the devil and put him to rout with the following words: "But you who were created to praise

God in heaven fell on account of pride. Were you one of those who asked to be sent into the swine?" The devil queried, "Why do you ask this?" The brother replied, "Because like rejoice in like. You are a swine; you speak, you love, you seek out that which is unclean. You were made to dwell in heaven; now you visit outhouses and latrines" (570, 571).

Another Franciscan used a variation of the same method. A woman whom the devil had entered was brought before him, and he inquired of the evil spirit, "Tell me, do you know how many orders of angels there are in heaven?" The devil answered that there are nine. "Enumerate them for me," the Minor continued. The enemy complied with the request and was able to list them only up to the third hierarchy. The friar then rebuked him sharply,

It is clear that you were among the orders which . . . you cannot mention. See to what misery you have come: you who should dwell in heaven now reside in a whore on account of your pride. Wherefore I command you, since you are most vile and miserable, . . . to leave the woman, a good creature of God, and not to presume to trouble her further.

At this the devil retreated in confusion, and the liberated woman rendered thanks to God (570).

There were at least three other ways of defeating Satan, according to the anecdotes in the Chronicle. A certain holy father, it seems, was once struck on the cheek by a demon-possessed person. In deep humility he turned his other cheek to the smiter. The devil was so ashamed at this exhibition of

meekness that he abandoned his residence of flesh and blood and fled (574). The mention of the Eucharist also would put the adversary to rout. The devil appeared one day to a young friar who was about to die, and accused him of greed and unfaithfulness to the ideal of poverty. The wicked spirit continued, "I have this against you too . . . you are an idolator, for you worship a piece of bread . . . at mass." The brother replied that he was simply fulfilling the Lord's command in celebrating the mass, and that good Catholics had always done so from the days of Christ's incarnation. "Tell me," the devil retorted, "where the Lord's body is mentioned in the 'Credo'." The dying Minor answered that it was in the expression "the communion of Saints." At this Satan left in haste, and the Minor died and went on to the Lord (568). The third of these methods of routing the devil was perhaps the most potent: it was through the confession of one's sins. A young friar was singing as he passed along the halls of his monastery. The devil turned to the other brothers and said, "You hear that brother--he is entirely mine." When the singer reached his friends they repeated the spirit's statement. The young man blushed, for he had an evil conscience. He turned and left the group, found a priest, and confessed to him his sins. Returning, he said to the devil, "Tell me . . . what I have done, and why I should be all yours." The visitor from the unseen replied, "I knew a moment ago, but now I do not remember" (568). Confession, as Salimbene viewed it, was a

powerful weapon against the wiles of the wicked one.¹¹

There seemed to be at least one method of testing a spirit to find out whether or not it was really a demon. One of the chronicler's friends applied the test in the case of a man who was reputed to be demon-possessed. He said to the poor fellow, "In this I shall know that you have a demon, if you know how to speak Latin with me. . . ." The demon began at once to converse so well in Latin that the Minor marvelled at his eloquence (577). On another occasion, however, the spirit passed the examination with difficulty. The lector of a monastery posed the same problem to a demon-possessed peasant. The evil spirit faltered and stammered and his grammar was incorrect. The Minor rebuked and insulted him at this display of ignorance. The frustrated demon replied, "I know as well as you do how to speak Latin. But the tongue of this rustic is large and so ill-suited to speech that I can hardly make it work" (568).

It is not to be wondered at that Salimbene recounts such tales. He lived in an age when history and legend mingled in a strange manner.¹² The Chronicle contains a sober presentation

¹¹Entrance into the Franciscan order seemed also to be a means of baffling the devil. This is illustrated by a tale concerning three students in Bologna. The evil spirit was able to drown the first of these and to crush the skull of the second. But before he could get to the third, the student had entered the Minors. The survivor's name was Petrus de Cora. He was Salimbene's friend and related to him the story (576f.).

¹²A valuable work on the subject of the medieval man's relationship to the unseen is J. A. MacCulloch, Medieval Faith and Fable (Boston, 1932). The subjects with which the author deals are demons, shape-shifting, the cult of the Virgin, saints, relics, miracles, etc.

of history. But scattered throughout its pages there are imaginary tales and fables, some of which were doubtless well-known in the author's day. Legends of all kinds are found in the volume. Many of them have to do with the miraculous and the supernatural. The psychological effect of these anecdotes was to increase the credulity of the medieval man.

The Chronicle abounds in legends.¹³ These strange tales were clearly a part of the pattern of thought of the middle ages. They seemed to be a connecting link with the unseen world of the past. Our author uses them on the slightest provocation. His purpose in relating them seems to be threefold.

In the first place, he feels that the legends are interesting historical tales from out of the past, and that they lend color to his volume, as well as serving an educational purpose. Occasionally he simply refers to a legend in passing, as in the case of his comparison between the physical features of Brother Simon of Montesarchio and those of the Roman martyr St. Boniface (318). At other times he relates a legend in detail. He informs his niece, for example, that St. Maximinus, one of Christ's seventy-two disciples, was the first archbishop of Aix. He was expelled by the Jews from his homeland, and placed by them in a ship without sail or rudder. He brought

¹³The word "legend" has a two-fold connotation. It is popularly used to mean a tale of questionable historicity. But its technical usage implies "that which is to be read." The two aspects of the word were often, as in our Chronicle, combined: the formal "legend" frequently, but by no means invariably, contained "legendary", or fictitious elements.

with him to the continent Martha, Mary Magdalene, and Lazarus. Through divine direction the ship landed at Marseilles, of which city Lazarus later became bishop. The man of Bethany subsequently wrote a book on the penalties of hell as he had seen them with his own eyes. Salimbene adds that on one of his trips to Marseilles he learned that through negligence on a custodian's part the volume had been burned. Other persons who accompanied Maximinus on his strange journey were blessed Cedonius, the blind man whose eyes the Lord had opened; and Marcilla, Martha's maid, who later composed a life of her mistress, and ultimately went to Slavonia as a missionary of the church (294, 295).¹⁴

In the second place, our author is convinced that many legends¹⁵ are of moral value: they illustrate virtues and vices,

¹⁴Other brief references to legendary material of historical interest are, for example, the sentences describing the bright and shining character of St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre (214); blessed Lucia's proclamation of peace to the people of Syracuse (347); a Hebrew tradition concerning the square stone which changed its color in accordance with the changes of God's moods (92); a tradition that King Joash incurred God's displeasure because he sought divine honors for himself (91); or the sawing in two of the prophet Isaiah (365).

¹⁵Salimbene is on the beaten literary track in his use of these interesting tales. The themes of the legends are highly diversified, and their range is very wide. They have been edited variously at different times. Collections are available in such works as S. J. H. Merrtage (ed.), The Early English Versions of the "Gesta Romanorum," EETS.35 (London, 1879); J. A. Mosher, The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England, "Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature," no. 34 (New York, 1911); or T. Wright (ed.), "A Selection of Latin Stories," in Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages (London, 1842), VIII, 1-136.

and thus encourage and warn the faithful. The subject matter of such legends is extraordinarily diversified. The tale of John the Evangelist and the little bird makes it clear that all men need some relaxation (150). That it is dangerous for man to come into contact with women is manifest in the story of blessed Arsenius, who prayed that the memory of a certain lady might be blotted out of his memory (385f.).¹⁶ The certainty of revenge is suggested by the legend of St. Bricius who, after thirty years of his bishopric, was punished for his misdeeds (533). The value of true humility is made clear in the story of the self-inflicted tortures of St. Thomas of Canterbury (134), or of the efforts of St. Ambrose (141) and St. Augustine (142) to escape the bishopric. The virtue of hospitality is indicated by the story of St. Silvester, who entertained orphans and widows (131f.). The danger of levity is suggested by the case of St. Lupus, archbishop of Sens, who fell in love with one of God's virgins (150). The beauty of generosity is evident in the legend of the king who, when he discovered that his supply of wine was limited, poured it all into the fountain that all of his followers might partake equally of the precious fluid (113). An example of worldly wisdom is given in the case of a man who ingratiated himself with a certain king through the use

¹⁶This anecdote is followed by two other pointed ones. A certain Father said, "Let us go where there is no woman." His disciple replied, "Where, except into solitude?" "Then take me into solitude," the Father retorted. Another high-minded saint, when he was to carry his mother across a stream, wrapped his hands in a cape. When asked the reason for this conduct he replied, "Woman's body is fire. When I touch you the memory of other women enters my soul" (386).

of only one sentence, which he repeated daily (387). It has already been stated that Salimbene is a moralist. One of his most effective means of driving his lessons home is this use of legends.

But the author's third purpose in utilizing these tales is to point out the reality and potency of the miraculous. From the time of the incarnation of the Son of God, he feels, on through the days of the church Fathers, and in unbroken continuation into his own day, there had been these supernatural exhibitions of power. Little wonder that the medieval man was credulous.

The legends of this type cover a wide range of topics. King Hyrtacus, it seems, fell in love with an abbess of a convent. He slew St. Matthew, who had dedicated the woman to God, and set fire to the convent. But suddenly the apostle appeared and transferred the blaze to the royal palace. All the king's possessions were consumed. His son was snatched away by a demon, and the ruler, now leprous, committed suicide (262, 263). Such gruesome tales are matched in the Chronicle by more helpful illustrations. Clovis, king of the Franks, was healed of a serious disease at the tomb of St. Martha (295). Hildebrand, prior of Cluny, miraculously convicted an archbishop of simony (323). St. Patricius healed the king of Scotia who, in imitation of Christ's sufferings, had pierced his foot with a shepherd's crook (575). The apostle John transformed reeds and stones into gold and diamonds (46). When the Lombards wanted

to decapitate the presbyter Sanctulus, the saint called upon John the Baptist for aid. The arm of the executioner withered away and his hand stiffened. The stupefied Lombards then became worshippers of Sanctulus and of John the Baptist (114, 115). These miraculous tales Salimbene relates with disingenuous simplicity and obvious credulity.

The power of the unseen, he feels, is able not only to transcend the physical limitations of the finite, but also to enable men properly endowed to peer into the future and accurately to foretell coming events. Prediction plays a significant part in the Chronicle, for Salimbene's mind is filled with the prognostications of leading seers of his own and of previous days. He regards the progress of history as the fulfilment of prophetic revelations.

The Sibyll and Merlin were among the friar's favorite oracles. The former of these had predicted that with the career of Frederick II the empire would come to an end (349), and that the monarch, like a French hen, would close his eyes in pretended death (537). The chronicler is a bit uncertain as to the authenticity of the first of these predictions: he writes, "I did not see these words in the Sibyll of Erithrea of Tyburtina . . . There were ten Sibylls." But he feels that the truth of the prophecies is clear, for neither the imperial nor the ecclesiastical candidates who succeeded Frederick really prospered (349). Merlin's prophecies were more numerous and explicit. This sage Englishman had much to write concerning

the emperors Frederick I, Henry VI, and Frederick II; and, Salimbene adds, his prophecies proved to be accurate (243). In particular he stated that Frederick II would be of miraculous origin (359), that eighteen years from his christening he would obtain the monarchy in the sight of his enemies, and that he would live in prosperity for seventy-two years (360).¹⁷ The chronicler respects the English soothsayer's words highly. Merlin was apparently a prolific author. The friar asserts that even the wars in which the city of Modena engaged fulfilled the seer's predictions (539). For in Merlin's verses definite utterances had been made concerning the future of the leading cities of Lombardy, Tuscany, Marchia, and Romagna.¹⁸

Other notable prophets upon whose writings Salimbene depends for information about his own time are Aymon, bishop of Halberstadt, and Michael the Scot. The former wrote three commentaries on Isaiah. The chronicler recites his exposition of the

¹⁷These predictions occur in the midst of a quoted passage from Merlin which occupies fifteen lines of the Chronicle (359, 360). Brother Hugo relied heavily upon these prophecies (243). The numerical conclusions which Merlin reached were variously interpreted in Salimbene's day (537). An excellent index to Merlin's prophecies is found in L. A. Paton (ed.), Les Prophecies de Merlin (New York, 1926), II, 353-400. The lives of the twelve Sibyls, the eight Books of the Sibylls, and the Sibylline Oracles, are available in M. Monteiro, As David and the Sibyls Say (London, 1905), pp. 1-24, 67-81, 93-140.

¹⁸The chronicler writes that he considers these verses worthy of quotation, and includes eighty-six lines of Merlin's poetry in his volume (539-542). For example:

"Venient in mundo et duo erunt sine fine utendo,
Gravia cum dura multa sunt inde futura.
In Lombardia tunc errabit phylosophia,
Superbia regnabit, cum ventis tota volabit. . . ."

twentieth chapter, in a passage which deals with the manner in which God judges nations which oppose his sovereign will (441). Michael the Scot, canny astrologer in the court of Frederick II, had prophesied extensively concerning the history of important cities in Lombardy, Tuscany, the Romagna, and other areas of Italy. Salimbene quotes fifty lines of this prophecy, and then adds that the predictions proved to be true, with three exceptions (361, 362): Frederick II was not the "hammer of the entire world", although he was guilty of much wickedness; the "ship of Peter" never ceased to be paramount, even in the days when, on account of discord among the cardinals, the papacy was vacant; nor did confusion end in 1260, as Michael had foretold that it would, although the "devotion" of that year did restore a measure of peace and accomplish some lasting good, as the chronicler "saw with his own eyes" (362).¹⁹

The most reliable prophecies, the friar feels, come from men of justice and integrity. But sometimes God spoke even through demons and sinful men (638). Persons of humble origin were often chosen to be divine mouth-pieces. In 1282 there was an illiterate Parmesan cobbler whose intellect had been so illumined by the Lord that he was able to understand the

¹⁹Occasionally the writer quotes prophetic passages the authorship of which is unknown to him. Such a prediction is found on pages 544-546 of the Chronicle. At its conclusion the friar writes, "Let each understand as seems right to himself whether the above are the words of the Sibyll or of another; for in the city of Constantinople, in the Church of St. Sophia, there is a column and a door on which historical matters are sculptured which will not be understood until the subjects they describe are fulfilled." Salimbene makes no effort to explain this cryptic allusion.

writings of Joachim, Merlin, Methodius, the Sibyll, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Daniel, and the Revelation (512). The poor fellow's nickname was Asdenti ("without teeth"), because he had large, protruding teeth, and an irregularity in his speech. Salimbene writes, "I have heard from him many things which afterwards happened, that Nicholas III, for example, would die in August, and that Martin would be pope. Many other things we expect to see if we live." Asdenti was widely known for his prophetic ability. On one occasion ambassadors from Reggio came to Parma and consulted the seer concerning the military status of their city. Asdenti informed them that if they could keep peace with their enemies until Christmas they would escape the wrath of God. The heralds replied that they were keeping the peace and that they expected to enter into mutual marriage relationships with other cities. The prophet insisted that they were acting fraudulently, and that they really had poison in their hearts which they expected soon to apply to their enemies. This accusation proved to be correct, for the men of Reggio returned to their city, ceased their matrimonial arrangements, and began to arm for battle (530). Other prophetic statements which Asdenti made and which proved to be correct related to the tribulations of Reggio and Parma, to the three pontiffs who would succeed Martin IV, to the destruction of Modena, and to the misfortunes of Pisa (532). Salimbene is deeply impressed by the humility and insight of this man whom nature had handicapped, but whose understanding God had illumined.

Other men, too, had varying degrees of prophetic insight. Malvitiu, a notary of Reggio, composed prophetic verses to warn his fellow-citizens not to follow the wicked example of Modena, whose internecine strife was notorious (541, 542). Henry of Pisa, whether wittingly or not, prophesied rightly that men might soon be dividing his books after his death (185). A weaver of Verona abandoned his vocation and entered a Cistercian cloister. Day after day he wrote in the room which the brethren allotted to him, predicting the future and receiving his board from the cloister. Years later Salimbene travelled to the scene of the prophet's labors in search of some of his writings. But he was informed that all the works of the ex-weaver had been destroyed, first, because they were proving a scandal to the monks, and, secondly, because the parchment upon which they were recorded was needed by the brethren for other writing purposes (456, 457). The chronicler's enthusiasm for the prophet's ability is not dampened by this information. He notes that the works of other men of enlightened spirit had been destroyed: Jeremiah's writings were consumed by fire, and the law of Moses was demolished by the Chaldeans.

There were false prophets too. A certain one-eyed Brescian claimed to be a diviner and astrologer. When the people of Modena had paid him adequately, he predicted that if they would fight against their enemies a third time they would emerge victorious. The Modenese threatened to tear out his one remaining eye if his words proved to be false. Deceiver that he was,

he absconded with all his goods, and the Modenese were derisively called by their enemies demon-worshippers (538). Another pretender was Gerardus of Roxe, who claimed to be a soothsayer. When the expelled imperial party of Parma consulted him with respect to their attack on the ecclesiastical party within the city, he predicted that they would be successful, for they would enter Colorno under the sign of the Scorpion. The imperials relied upon his words and were soundly beaten. But, Salimbene adds, there was at least the extenuating circumstance that Scorpion moves backwards and is hard to prognosticate (278).²⁰

But the prophet whose name occurs most frequently in the pages of the Chronicle is Joachim,²¹ the seer of Calabria. The character and teachings of this eccentric personality seem to fascinate our author. For years the friar was a believer in Joachism, and although he avowedly rejected its doctrines at last, he could never completely banish the prophet's predictions from his mind. Over fifty references to Joachim and his

²⁰The movements of the heavenly bodies were often associated with earthly events. The chronicler gives an illustration of the prophetic powers of the stars. He states that war between the Genoese and the Pisans was foretold long before it took place. In a certain villa in the diocese of Parma some women were one evening busy washing their linen when they saw two large stars at war. Both luminaries retreated and attacked several times. This was a clear prophecy of a coming struggle between the famous seaports (534).

²¹The life and teachings of Joachim are described in E. Aegerter (ed.), Joachim de Flore, L'évangile éternel: Première traduction française précédée d'une biographie (Paris, 1928), vols. I and II. See also P. Fournier, Études sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines (Paris, 1909).

adherents are found in the volume, and in addition there are extended treatments of the prophet's weird but somewhat plausible interpretations of Scripture. In order to clarify Salimbene's relationship to Joachimism, it will be necessary to outline its origin, nature, and career.

Giovanni dei Giochini was born in 1133 in Calabria, a section of Italy famous for its black forests, loud waterfalls, steep heights, and general atmosphere of mystery. After an interesting but turbulent life, he ended his days as abbot of the monastery of Flora. A speculative mystic, Joachim produced a genuine philosophy of history which was to become widely known and influential. His major literary compositions are The Explanaton of the Apocalypse, The Book of "Concordance" between the Two Testaments, and The Psalter of Ten Strings. These three works were made famous by their association with a volume of a later date which went under the name of The Everlasting Gospel.²² In addition to these Joachim wrote several minor treatises, such as Super Quatuor Evangelia a Concordia Evangeliorum, Contra Judaeos, De Articuli fidei, Libellus de unitate seu essentia Trinitatis.

The fundamental thought underlying The Everlasting Gospel is that the order and course of the story of redemption are founded upon the being of God who is three persons in one supreme

²²This book was a distortion of the teachings of Joachim and aided in bringing Joachimism into disrepute. Whether or not the prophet actually wrote a book entitled The Everlasting Gospel is a debatable point.

unity. The persons of the Trinity are seen to be coessential, consubstantial, coeternal, and co-omnipotent. Hence the Holy Spirit, equally with the Father and the Son, has a share in the divine directing of providence. The pattern of history gradually becomes clear. There are three ages²³ described in the Bible, corresponding to the three persons of the godhead. Between these ages there is a remarkable concordance, or harmony, or parallelism. Through a careful study of this harmony, through the use of allegory and mystical interpretations, and through a detailed analysis of the apocalyptic portions of Scripture, one is able not only to understand the present, but also confidently to anticipate the future. The three ages are those of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The first was instituted by Adam and continued under the sign of the law and

²³Each age has its own characteristics. Joachim draws at least twelve distinctions. In their proper order the ages are those of married couples, of clerks, and of monks; of knowledge, of wisdom, and of full intelligence; of servile obedience, of filial subjection, and of liberty; of trial, of action, and of contemplation; of fear, of faith, and of love; of slaves, of sons, and of friends; of old men, of young people, and of children; of winter, of spring, and of summer; of thistles, of roses, and of lilies; of the blade, of the ear, and of the full corn in the ear; of water, of wine, and of oil; of brass, of silver, and of gold. The age of the Father was of the earth, earthy. At that time patriarchs and priests flourished. Moses was the precursor in that age. The age of the Son was a replica of the first, but on a higher spiritual level. In this age clerks had the preeminence. The precursor was John the Baptist. Now the age of the Holy Spirit was at hand. One had merely to continue the parallel into this new age, to change the names, put someone in Adam's place, select a precursor, and with some ingenuity and a vast amount of imagination, one could predict the details of the third age.

circumcision. The second began with Uzziah and is known as the age of the Gospel. The third commenced with Benedict. Towards its close Elijah would appear, and the Jewish nation would return to God.

Joachim taught that there is a divine relation between the characters and events of the Old and New Testaments.²⁴ To appreciate this parallelism one had to use mystical interpretations and allegories, and above all concordances, or comparisons between time periods, or persons, or groups. The types and anti-types of the Bible had to be mastered. And to the legitimate Biblical types the one whom the Holy Spirit had instructed would be able to add innumerable others, until the

²⁴Joachim's theory of concordances is basic. He taught that there is, first, a personal parallelism in sacred history. Abraham corresponds to Zachariah, and Sarah to Elizabeth. As Abraham was the father of the Hebrews, so Zachariah was the father of New Testament believers. The entire line of the patriarchs was in Abraham; so the line of church leaders began with Zachariah. Just as there were twenty generations between Uzziah and Zachariah, so there will be forty generations between Zachariah and the consummation of the second age. Both Abraham and Zachariah represent God the Father. Each of these leaders had a son miraculously born. Isaac is a type of John the Baptist. Both represent God the Son. Rebecca and Mary the mother of Jesus both represent the organized church. Jacob is parallel with Jesus in His humanity. Both represent the Holy Spirit. Rachel must be brought into concord with the mother of James and John, both women being types of the spiritual church. The twelve patriarchs run parallel to the twelve apostles. Reuben, the firstborn, clearly resembles Andrew, who came the first to Jesus; Judah, strong of arm, is the predecessor of Peter, strong of faith. Moses and Aaron are the Old Testament Paul and Barnabas. The peace of Solomon's day finds its parallel in Constantine's "Pax Romana". And Absalom's treachery is repeated in Julian's effort to restore paganism to a place of eminence.

mystery of creation and redemption were fully unveiled. The possibilities here are limitless, and the prophet is fairly consistent in the application of his method of interpretation.

But when he discusses the meaning of the Revelation, Joachim is really daring in his hermeneutics. There are five "times" from eternity to eternity, the time before the law of Moses, the time under the law, the time under the Gospel, the reign of the Holy Spirit, and finally the manifestation of God. The seven seals of the Revelation explain the mystery of these "times". Each seal refers to specific periods of human history.²⁵ These prophetic calculations had a genuine significance. They were not the mere ravings of a mad man. For Joachim they meant that God had a definite plan for His world, and that that plan was inexorably being worked out. One by one prophecies were being fulfilled. Trait for trait the first two

²⁵The first seal deals with the period between Jacob and Moses, and by the law of relatedness, with the period between the resurrection of Christ and the death of John the Evangelist. In each case there was a period of great affliction, Moses and Paul both combating the forces of iniquity. The second seal describes the years between Moses and Samuel, and between the death of John and the reign of Constantine. These were both eras of warfare. The third seal, Samuel to Elijah, and Constantine to Justinian, witnesses the division of kingdoms. The fourth seal, Elijah to Isaiah, and Justinian to Charlemagne, tells of Assyrian and Moslem struggles. The fifth seal brings us to the captivity in Old Testament days, and to Joachim's time in the new dispensation. The sixth seal carries us forward to the overthrow of Babylon, and to the destruction of the second "Babylon", when Elijah the Second will be revealed, and the Sabbath of peace and glory will be inaugurated. This sixth seal deals with the period from Malachi to Zacharias, covering the wicked reign of Antiochus; and with the glorious age of consummation, when the Visio Dei will be beheld and the Antichrist overthrown. It is interesting to note that in the Prologue to St. Bonaventura's Legenda Major the author writes that the angel of the sixth seal is none other than St. Francis. See Bon. Prol., 1, 2.

ages would find their parallel in the age of consummation.²⁶

Breath-taking upheavals were just around the corner. The end of the age drew nigh. To be exact, the year 1260²⁷ A. D., or thereabouts, was the terminus ad quem for the age of the Son of God.

Joachim's ideas spread rapidly after his death. At the Fourth Lateran Council his errors concerning the Trinity were exposed, and Innocent III preached a sermon²⁸ on the three persons of the godhead. But the Council was careful to add that the abbot did not persevere in his false opinions, that he submitted all his writings to the pope's correction, and that he signed a letter in which he stated that he adopted in every respect the dogma of the Roman church. In spite of this statement the monks of Flora were soon derided as followers of a

²⁶There has been a progression in the revelation of these things. The age of God the Father furnished only, as it were, the light of stars, the wisdom of scientia. The age of God the Son provided the light of dawn, sapientia ex parte. The age of the Holy Spirit, towards the goal of which human history is marching, will be the time of plenitudo intellectus. See E. Benz, Ecclesia Spiritualis: Kirchenidee und Geschichtstheologie der Franziskanischen Reformation (Stuttgart, 1934), p. 15.

²⁷Forty generations from Jesus' day, corresponding to the forty generations from Adam to Zachariah, plus two generations of preparation, brought one up to this significant date. Then, too, 1260 was a Biblical number. The author of the Revelation often wrote of periods of three and one-half years. If each year contains, according to ancient reckoning, 360 days, and if each day represents a year of history, then three and one-half years would mean precisely 1260.

²⁸For the sermons of Innocent III at this Council see Mansi, op. cit., XXII, cols. 968-979.

heretic; and it became necessary for Honorius III, in 1220, to issue a bull declaring that Joachim was a good Catholic, and forbidding all detraction of his disciples. But soon Joachim's followers began to produce prophetical books, written in the style and spirit and even in the name of the prophet. These spurious works were far more explicit and pointed in their applications of prophecy than were the original masterpieces of the abbot of Flora. Perhaps Joachim had planted the seed of confusion; but these later writings brought the plant of discord to full fruition.²⁹

²⁹For some years there had been a severe quarrel between the clergy and the Mendicant orders. The University of Paris, and particularly William of St. Amour of the University, sided with the clergy. In April, 1253, Dominicans and Friars were excluded from positions on the University faculty. They appealed to the pope, who severely reprimanded the Masters of the University, and ordered them to reinstate three regents who had been excluded. The University rebelled. Innocent IV summoned its leaders to Rome. On November 20, 1254, he issued the bull Eti animarum against the privileges of the Mendicant orders, forbidding them on pain of excommunication to receive the faithful into their churches on Sundays and holy days, and restricting them in other ways. The restrictions are described in H. Denifle and A. Chatelain, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis (Paris, 1889), I, 267-270.

Just before the bull was promulgated a book appeared which was to have a great influence upon the issue of this struggle and upon the subsequent history of Joachimism. A young friar studying at Paris was the author of the book in its final form. His name was Gerardus de Borgo San Donnino. His Everlasting Gospel got many of its ideas from Joachim. It was a composite work. The introduction and many of the notes were written entirely by Donnino. The book proved to be additional fuel on the fires of opposition to the mendicants. For it inveighed against the papacy and the corruption of the clergy. It predicted in blatant fashion that the entire sacerdotal system would be swept away, and that the priesthood would be replaced by saintly and barefoot monks. The Bishop of Paris submitted the book to Innocent IV just before the bull was issued.

Salimbene first learned about the doctrines of Joachim when he resided at Pisa. In the monastery there he met an aged abbot of Flora who had found asylum in Pisa because he feared that Frederick II might destroy his Flora retreat. The holy man had brought with him for safe custody all the books, spurious as well as genuine, attributed to Joachim; and he was fully convinced that the Scriptural mysteries were being fulfilled in the activities of the cruel emperor (236). In 1247, when the chronicler was in Provence, he met two ardent Joachites who sought to persuade him to embrace the teachings of their master. One of the two was the notorious Gerardus of Borgo San Donnino mentioned above. Our author writes that although most people were enthusiastic about the crusade on which King Louis was embarking, Gerardus and his friend mocked at the venture. Jeremiah, they asserted, had predicted its failure: the king would be taken, the French conquered, and many carried off by the plague (237). A lector in the Provence monastery advised Salimbene to have nothing to do with the Joachites. But apparently the warning availed little, for the next year when the chronicler met Brother Hugo at Hyeres, he was eager to hear

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On December 7, just a few days later, the pope died. Alexander IV, who had been Cardinal Protector of the Franciscans, became pope. He appointed a commission to examine the book. The three cardinals who composed the commission, in their Protocol of Anagni, gave an unfavorable verdict, and on October 23, 1265, the work was officially condemned. Furthermore, no book was to be published thereafter without the permission of the minister-general or the provincial minister of the order. Gerardus was expelled from the studium of Paris, sent to Sicily, and deprived of all his priestly functions. In 1258 St. Bonaventura condemned him to perpetual imprisonment and repressed the Franciscan exponents of Joachimism.

the Joachite, and "applauded and rejoiced with him."

A long section of the Chronicle (238-254) deals with Brother Hugo's disputation with a certain Brother Peter of Apulia, lector of the Preachers at Naples, who was at Hyères awaiting a suitable time to set sail. Brother Peter professed to care "as little for Joachim as for the fifth wheel of a wagon; for even Pope Gregory in one of his homilies believed that the end of the world would come almost in his own time, since the Lombards had come in his days and were destroying all things."³⁰ Brother Hugo, who had all of Joachim's works (236), was indignant at this sort of ignorance. He retorted, "I believe that thou has read him [Joachim] as a woman her Psalter," i.e., without understanding. Then the debate began. Hugo sought to prove from Joachim's writings that the life of the emperor Frederick II would end when the monarch was seventy years old, and that he could not be slain but by God. The fact that Salimbene presents Hugo's argument in detail indicates his growing interest in Joachimism. He wrote his Chronicle years after these events took place. But even after the passage of the years, although Hugo's predictions concerning the emperor had been proven false, Salimbene was still impressed by Brother Hugo's readiness to answer all questions without hesitation.³¹

³⁰The reference is doubtless to Gregory's Homilia super evangelium, I, 1, which is available in MPL, LXXVI, cols. 1078, 1079.

³¹The subject of Biblical interpretation was discussed in the conversation between Peter the Dominican and Hugo of Hyères (242). One reason Salimbene and his friends were able so readily

The chronicler was instrumental in spreading Joachim's ideas. He borrowed Hugo's books dealing with the prophet's interpretation of the four evangelists, and later he copied from the volumes for the benefit of John of Parma (294). He read from Joachim's exposition of Isaiah to the Markgrave of Esti (377). He was often urged to forsake the tenets of the seer (446). And at length he writes, "After Frederick died, and the year 1260 went by, I totally dismissed that doctrine, and I am now disposed to believe only what I see" (302, 303).

The author had opportunities to meet many of the leading Joachites. He describes Brother Hugo as one of the best clerics in the world, a man of incomparable holiness and knowledge (313). He writes that Brother Rodulfus, lector at Pisa, a great logician and theologian, abandoned his study of theology and became a mighty Joachite (236). John of Parma's devotion to the prophet's teaching, according to Salimbene, was partly the occasion of his downfall. Church leaders implored the holy man to cease "following the words of fools." But John refused to listen to their entreaties (301-303). Other Joachites mentioned in the Chronicle are Brother Bartholomew Guisculus of Parma, an able, Spirit-filled guardian in the monastery of Capua (236); and John Gallicus and Johanninus Pigulinus of Parma, both from

31 (continued)

to accept the works of Joachim was that the church, according to Brother Hugo, taught at least six methods of Scriptural hermeneutics: the literal, allegorical, anagogical, tropological, moral, and mystical. Further, the fact that the prophet was not an apostolic character did not mean that he was not inspired; for God was able to use the predictions even of a Balaam, or of a Caiaphas (245).

the monastery of Naples (239). But the name of Gerard of San Donnino reappears frequently in the volume. Salimbene describes him as impudent, and yet as "friendly, courteous, liberal, religious, honest, modest, well-mannered, temperate in word, food, drink, and raiment." When he met Gerard, he had a long conversation with him. He asked him about the Antichrist, when and where he would be born. Gerard replied that the Man of Sin had already been born and was grown, that he knew him well by the prophetic writings, and that the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah pointed out that the King of Castile was the wicked one of whose coming the doctors and saints had spoken. To this assertion Salimbene replied derisively, "I hope to my God that you are mistaken!" Just then the chronicler learned that Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, had been captured by Icilius. "You see," said Gerard, "the mystery of iniquity is already working" (456). While living in the convent of Imola Salimbene was asked by Brother Arnulf what he thought of Gerard's book. He examined it and replied, "It does not have the style of the ancient scholars and contains frivolities and laughable words. Therefore it has been condemned."³² He advised Arnulf to throw the book into the fire and burn it (458). For the book's sake, according to the chronicler, the Franciscan order was "evil

³²The writer adds that in Gerard's case it was decreed that no new writing should be published within the order until first it had been approved in a chapter-general; and that if anyone did otherwise he should fast for three days on bread and water and throw away his writings (462).

spoken of in Paris and elsewhere." And because of it Gerard was ultimately deprived of his offices of lector and preacher, of the right to hear confessions, and of all priestly powers. He was thrust into prison, where he died; and, being deprived of the right of church burial, his remains were simply laid in a corner of the garden (238).

The chronicler was familiar with several of Joachim's works.³³ He regarded the exposition on the Apocalypse more highly than all the others (559). He refers to the Book of Concordances (209) and to the volume on the Trinity (238). He often quotes the Pseudo-Joachistic writings, particularly the exposition of Jeremiah. In many cases he relies on the accuracy of Joachim's predictions. He agrees that the abbot of Flora was a prophet and a holy man, but admits that there were three hindrances to his doctrine: the condemnation of his book against Master Peter Lombard, whom he charged with heresy and madness; his unfortunate predictions of tribulations to come (such as the death of the emperor Henry, the desolation of the Kingdom of Sicily, and disasters to the Roman Empire); and the rise of men who would fain forestall the times and seasons which he had prescribed, "for he fixed no certain term of years, although some may think so" (238f.).

³³He states that the emperor Henry VI was a friend of Joachim, and that the seer wrote his books on Isaiah and Jeremiah, and his expositions on Merlin and the Sibyll, at the monarch's bidding (360).

Salimbene understood the meaning of Joachim's concordances. He readily accepted the prophet's three ages of world history. In the first of these ages, he writes, the Father mysteriously worked in the patriarchs and the sons of the prophets; in the second the Son worked in the apostles and apostolic men; and in the third, which was to begin in 1260 (293), the Holy Spirit would work in the Religious (466). The chronicler followed with interest Joachim's exposition of the Apocalypse, applying the forty-two months of Revelation XI to the forty-two generations described in the first chapter of Matthew, and to the "forty-two generations" from Jesus' day to the thirteenth century. The 1260 days of Revelation XII, he felt, were obviously 1260 years, for in Ezekiel IV a day is said to represent a year (494). The seven heads of the dragon were the persecutors of the Jews, the pagans, heretics, Saracens, the sons of Babylon, "the present age," and the Antichrist (439, 440). The parallel seemed clear to our friar between the Old Testament leaders Moses and Aaron and the New Testament heroes Barnabas and Saul; Israel's departure from Egypt represented the people of God forsaking idolatry; the land of promise had its counterpart in the Catholic faith and the Roman church (291); and there was a concordance between Jehoshaphat and Pope Leo I (209).

Our author is sure that many of the predictions of the Calabrian soothsayer were fulfilled in detail.³⁴ He had

³⁴One of Salimbene's arguments that the sect of "Apostoli" were not of God is the fact that Joachim overlooked them completely in his predictions (293).

prophesied the failure of the crusades (236, 237). He had foretold the conversion of the Greeks, relying on the passage in John IV, "And he must needs go through Samaria"; and the conversion of the Jews, for as a lad Jesus had entered the temple. Salimbene is delighted with this exegesis. "Look in the book of the abbot," he exclaims, "because the exposition is very beautiful, delightful, and full of truth" (495). The prophecies relating to Frederick II, his wickedness and disturbing of the earth, were fulfilled (31).³⁵ Pope Gregory X died prematurely. The reasons for his death were two: he had attempted to continue the imperial line after Frederick's decease, and had set his heart on recovering Palestine, both of which things were contrary to Joachim's predictions (494). When a boy preacher in Ravenna drew remarkable crowds to hear him, that was no marvel, Salimbene writes, for the prophet had clearly said that the third age was the "age of boys" (267).³⁶

The Dominican and Franciscan orders were foreseen by the prophet of Calabria. Salimbene dwells on this theme at length. Parallel Biblical figures were types of the orders: Noah's crow and dove, the one all black, the other of variegated hue, the two angels sent to Sodom, Esau and Jacob, Joseph and Benjamin,

³⁵Joachim's prophecies were also fulfilled, Salimbene asserts, in the case of several popes, i.e. of Alexander III, Innocent III, Innocent IV, Honorius III, and Alexander IV (36).

³⁶References are also made to the prophecies concerning Frederick's age, the destruction of Victoria, the inability of his barons to kill him (241), and the failure of his successors really to govern the empire (439).

Manasseh and Ephraim, Moses and Aaron, Caleb and Joshua, the two spies sent by Joshua into Jericho, Elijah and Elisha, John the Baptist and the man Christ Jesus, the two disciples going toward Emmaus, Peter and John going to the grave, the two disciples going up to the temple to pray, for Peter (prefiguring the order of Preachers) said, "Silver and gold have I none," and the two witnesses of Revelation XI (20, 415). These parallels are often minutely worked out. For example, the Preachers were fishers in the sea of Christendom, while the Minors were hunters. For just as Esau the hunter accepted the daughters of Heth for his wives so the Minors welcomed the secular sciences, and hunted souls, especially in areas beyond the mountains (288, 289). The Preaching order would suffer with the other, but the order of Franciscans would endure to the end (580). The Minors would welcome laity as well as clerics, but the Dominicans would be composed chiefly of clerics (21). Both orders would attack the Babylonian whore and all men who were guilty of mortal sin (640). And just as the two witnesses of Revelation XI were slain, so Christian people would rise up against the two mendicant orders (266).

Through all these prophetic utterances it seemed to Salimbene that the purposes of the Lord were being revealed to the children of men. God seemed to be ever near the faithful, ready to illumine their minds, either through the ministry of the Scriptures, or directly through an impartation of spiritual insight. Prophecy was regarded as a medium through which the

divine plan of the ages was unerringly unfolded. And our chronicler, along with a multitude of believers in his day, felt that he himself was fulfilling a definite function in the consummation of the heavenly decrees.

"The things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal" (II Cor. 4:18). Men and women of the middle ages felt the force of such words. They did not hesitate to "look . . . at the things which are not seen." They felt that the power of the Almighty is infinite and that his will is regulative of human destiny. They were convinced that God stands ready to rend asunder the veil of the visible and to reveal his omnipotence in the interests of his loyal followers. Evil spirits might molest. But the evidence of history, the weight of tradition, and the assurances of faith, combined to establish the conviction that the God of the ages is concerned about his people and always prepared to exhibit his miraculous power on their behalf. In all the realms suggested in this chapter the world of the invisible appeared to Salimbene to be an actual and extremely helpful reality.

Chapter VI

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

The writer of a chronicle is bound by few literary devices. He is developing no sustained plot, pressing home no exclusive moral, and fitting his tale into no pre-arranged chronological system. Salimbene's Chronicle in some respects resembles a diary. The observant friar often jots down on one page matters which are related only in the respect that he happened to think of them consecutively. Further, he regards few themes as irrelevant; hence his volume covers a wide range of subjects. Nowhere does he seek to coordinate his material.

Yet it is possible to discover, even in the extreme diversity of topics discussed in the book, a measure of unity. The Minor had a world view under which all his paragraphs might be subsumed. His philosophy of life is observable, not in sustained sections of the Chronicle, but in sentences which occur repeatedly, in ideas which are advanced if not developed, and in attitudes which are reflected in the phraseology of the text.

No discussion of the chronicler's work would be complete without a presentation of some of the miscellaneous items he records.

Natural phenomena are described with surprising exactness. The weather¹ is a favorite topic with the friar. He notes that there were periods of excessive cold in certain years, and that the Po and Crostolo rivers repeatedly froze (165).² He often mentions the snow storms of North Italy and sometimes emphasizes the duration of the foul weather (33), or the depth of the snow (491), or the destruction caused by the low temperature, the snow, and the ice (549). He records the fact that great winds and hail accompanied the snow storm of 1269 (477), and that in 1228 snow fell after a period of beautiful weather (35). All such items of information are simply appended without introduction to the main body of the chronicler's narrative. Rainfall is another of his themes. There were mighty downpours in 1275 (491) and in 1277 (497). The floods caused by the

¹The fact that God ordains the weather is stressed in the Chronicle. For example, good crops were granted as tokens of the Lord's mercy (526); God sent snow seven times in February, 1286 (613); torrents of rain revealed his displeasure, but when he was reconciled the excessive downpour ceased (614).

²However banal the recital of this and similar data may seem, two facts appear to be clear. First, Salimbene had an inquiring mind. He was not a scientific experimenter. Yet he was eager to gather and transmit any sort of information which he deemed useful or of unusual interest. But secondly, the friar is confident as he records his findings that behind all the natural phenomena he mentions there is the unseen but controlling hand of omnipotence. He is sure that this divine power is active in every area of life.

torrents of water did great damage to human life and property. The friar insists that the flood of 1276 was the worst inundation to date: it was caused by fourteen months of rain; it covered the whole earth; water was so deep in Reggio that the citizens went through the streets in boats (496). The floods in Venice in 1284 were the worst that the city had ever experienced (548). Thunder and lightning often accompanied the showers of rain (578), and frequently terrified the populace (511).

Earthquakes were also dreaded by the people. The so-called "earthquake of Brescia" (in 1222) devastated the countryside (586). The reverberation of the earth in Ancona (in 1279) brought great havoc: it caused the mountains to shake and it drained the artificial lakes (500). Salimbene explains the cause of earthquakes. He writes that there was an earthquake in Pisa in 1243, and adds that the phenomenon usually takes place when wind is shut up, with no air-hole, in a cavernous mountain. The fact that the moving air has no exit causes the earth to tremble. The friar illustrates this point by referring to an unshelled chestnut which violently pops out of the fire, to the consternation of those nearby (549).

The results of these natural disturbances were distressing. In the wake of flood, earthquake, and drought (583), there followed untold suffering and destruction. Famine stalked the land (35). Pestilence took a severe toll of life. The plague of 1259 was so extensive and severe that sometimes there were

two corpses at a time in the Minors' churches. The friars throughout the province of Bologna were unable to say their offices on Palm Sunday, for they were all afflicted with the dread malady. Many thousands of people died in Milan and Florence. Church bells were not rung in the cities lest the sick be disturbed (464, 465). The years 1275 (491) and 1283 (515) brought high mortality to cattle. In each case there was a dangerous death-rate among men the following year. The chronicler adds that this state of affairs may be regarded as a general rule (515). So numerous were the deaths in Rome in 1285 that during a five-month period twenty-four abbots and bishops passed away (584, 585). The same year multitudes died in Fivoli. The Minors in this area frequently had four funerals a day in their churches (593).

As the result of famine and plague food prices often soared. The chronicler often lists famine prices item by item (484).³ He implies that there were "black markets", and records the price listings of foods sold regularly as over against those sold secretly or privately (464). The city authorities occasionally sought to regulate the prices. In 1285 the amounts charged for fish in Reggio were exorbitant. To meet the situation the city council decreed that the fish merchants should not sell during Lent under penalty of twenty-five Bolognese pounds, and that no one should buy under penalty of ten pounds.

³Other price lists of food are found, for example, on pages 35, 488, 498, and 504.

The order was so strictly kept that the fishmongers besought the Minors to intervene on their behalf and to ask the podesta and council to relax the decree. They promised to be fair, but the city fathers refused their request. Instead, the council threatened the meat dealers with similar drastic action, and the butchers at once mended their financial ways (586, 587).

Salimbene is not primarily a lover of nature. Sometimes he essays to be poetic, as in his lovely description of the month of May (394). But normally he records the unusual, the unexpected, or at least that which is not widely known. He notes that in May, 1282, there was such intense heat that, even if it had occurred in July, it would have been considered abnormal (511). He remarks that in France the days are longer in May than in some parts of Italy, and shorter in winter (221). He is impressed by the unhealthfulness of the sea breezes at Hyeres: so oppressive were these winds that on a visit to the city the chronicler was scarcely able to breathe at night (313). A landslide in the valley of Savoy, he tells his niece, spread havoc and devastation throughout seven parishes. Four thousand people were crushed by the debris (320). The whirlpools near Messina in Sicily were so powerful that they often swallowed ships (351). In 1283 the friar witnessed a strange phenomenon: standing one night in Reggio under a serene and open sky, he watched the rain pour down from the star-lit heavens. The next year he had a similar experience by day, without, of course, the benefit of the stars (526).

The heavenly bodies intrigue our chronicler. He witnessed eclipses of the sun in 1231 (169) and in 1239. The effect of the latter event was tremendous. Men and women were terrified. Many confessed their sins. Peace was established between enemies. The podesta of Lucca, cross in hand, led a procession through the streets of the city, and preached on the passion of Christ (164). A partial solar eclipse occurred in 1285, although it was observed by only a few persons (583). The chronicler writes that he often noticed eclipses of the moon (548). The greatest of these in his experience was the one which took place in May, 1272, when the sign of the cross appeared in the moon (583). Such eclipses, the friar states blandly, foretell the future. He multiplies Scriptural references on the subject, because some people, "who ought to be preaching do not have their material at hand and so get into confusion" (549).⁴ He records the movements of the planets Venus and Jupiter, and their relationship to the moon and Scorpion (516); a conjunction, and subsequent separation, of two stars (608); and the appearance of a remarkable comet which was visible for three months, arising in the east when Pope Urban began to be sick (in 1264), and disappearing the night the

⁴The homiletical aid which the friar seeks to give is simply an inconclusive assortment of passages selected at random from the prophetic portions of the Old and New Testaments.

pontiff died (468).⁵

Salimbene's observant eyes and attentive ears taught him a good deal, too, about animals, birds, and insects. From Isidore's Etymologies he learned about the peculiar habits of beavers when hunters are on their trail (142). He describes the howling of wolves at night (313), and the capture of one of these beasts which had been devouring children in the diocese of Reggio (499). He notes that in 1294 there was a high death-rate among cats, which became mangy and then died (608). The legate Gregory, he writes, owned a raven which was able to speak and which proved to be a practical joker. It was constantly deceiving men, and continued to be a nuisance until a blind man struck it with his stick and broke its wing. The chronicler tells this story with almost childish glee (391). In 1268 large numbers of thrushes ("turuli") filled the air every evening for an extended period. The friar writes that the

⁵The listing of data was no new thing in the thirteenth century. Works of an encyclopedic nature had long been in existence. The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville was known to Salimbene: he quotes twice from its pages (142, 583). See MPL, LXXXII, cols. 73-1054. The chronicler describes Brother Bartholomew Anglicus as a great cleric, a lecturer on the whole Bible at Paris, and the writer of a volume " . . . de proprietatibus rerum" (94). He states that in the voluminous work of this Franciscan the nature and qualities of elephants are discussed. Consult R. R. Steele (ed.), Bartholomew Anglicus, Medieval Lore. "King's Classics," vol. 20 (London, 1907). A third encyclopaedist of note was Vincent de Beauvais, whose Speculum Naturale, composed during Salimbene's life-time, soon became widely known. The manner in which the chronicler records his findings and occasionally relates them to the supernatural seems to have been the conventional procedure in his day. A helpful discussion of this subject is found in L. Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York, 1929), vol. II.

sight was almost unbelievable. The birds proved to be a menace, for they destroyed the grapes throughout the area (480). Destruction of vegetation was brought about in 1282 by a scourge of caterpillars, which devoured everything green. They spared only the leaves of the nut-trees, probably, the Minor feels, because these were bitter (507). The butterflies which laid the eggs from which such caterpillars emerged (547) were very unwelcome. Fleas were regarded as a public enemy too. They were bad enough in mid-summer; but in 1285 they were present in vast numbers in the month of March (578). Swarms of flies were a menace in July, 1287: they stung the people and retarded the growth of crops (642). The chronicler seems to be interested in all sorts of creatures. Even chickens do not escape his attention. He writes that in 1286 there was such high mortality among poultry that a doctor performed post mortem experiments on the birds, discovered that there were boils above their hearts, and warned the people against eating fowl's flesh (614).

The friar does not hesitate to record whatever at the moment interests him. He has an abundance of curiosity, a keen imagination, and a ready pen. His observations extend into many spheres. We shall list a few more of these, for they indicate something of the literary atmosphere of the Chronicle, and the broad scope of the author's interests.

His detailed presentation of menus at feasts is by no means a mere academic exercise. Salimbene was probably a jolly

soul. He enjoyed his food and drink. He despised onions, and expresses regret that in the early days of his novitiate they were served daily in his monastery (99). The sea-food at Hyeres he regarded as a real treat (321). At least twice (218, 224) he refers to twelve course banquets the very memory of which causes his mouth to water. In 1284 he ate ravioli without dough crust for the first time. This was such a novel and stimulating experience that he philosophizes on the theme of the subtlety of human taste: he notes that men of his day were no longer willing to eat merely the natural foods with which primitive men were content (547). Three times he had wandered through the region of Auxerre, where the wine was so famous. He devotes over three pages of his volume to a discussion of the subject (218-221).⁶ He saw the great numbers of vineyards throughout the area, learned that Paris was the chief market for the sale of wine, and discovered that in four of the custodies of the district beer was drunk, and in the other four wine. He compares the French product with the Italian, describes the Frenchman's ideal of good wine, and graphically portrays the effects of excessive drinking.

The thirteenth century Franciscan was bound by the oath of continence. But it was perfectly natural for our author to

⁶He writes that the French playfully say that good wine must be three B's: Bon, Bel, and Blanc. It must be seven P's: Forte, Fer, Fin, Franble, Fredo, Fras, and Fomaljant. The red wine of Auxerre is not considered to be as good as the corresponding Italian product. The white wine, however, is most comforting, and brings happiness and assurance to the drinker.

notice women, and to express his opinion concerning them. He quotes Origen as saying that woman is "the head of sin, the weapon of the devil, the expulsion from paradise, the mother of concupiscence, and the corruption of the ancient law" (133).⁷ He expresses the belief that the three most lovable ladies were Helena, the mother of Constantine, Galla Placidia, the mother of the emperor Valentinian, and the Countess Matilda (378). In the course of his narrative he throws light on the customs of his day relating to women.⁸ He tells his niece about the furor created by restrictions concerning the style of women's clothing (169, 170). Marriage relationships are suggested here and there in his volume. Cases are mentioned of a man dismissing his wife and taking another spouse (67); of a husband repudiating his mate because she bore him no sons (345); of brothers forming a matrimonial alliance for their troublesome sister (358, 359); of control of territory by marriage (378); and of concubinage (54).

Universities were springing into prominence in the thirteenth century. Salimbene gives no extended description of their rise

⁷Holder-Egger writes that he has not been able to find this passage in the writings of Origen, and that he does not believe that they are the words of the church Father (133, n.5).

⁸Salimbene feels that he is theologically correct in his estimate of women and of the confusion which entered the world through her sin. But there is a refreshing wholesomeness in his attitude toward the women of whom he has heard or whom he has known personally.

and development. But he often mentions the fact that certain persons taught or studied in Bologna or Paris.⁹ He writes that it was difficult to secure ample food for the citizens of Bologna, for the studium was there and the town was crowded with residents (481).¹⁰ The minister of the Franciscan district of Bologna urged students from other provinces to come to the famous city to study (322). Brother Aymo, later minister-general of the Minors, taught in Bologna (277). Brother Humilis, lector in the monastery of Fano, had studied under this able professor (277). Cardinal Iacobus of Columna had also been a student in Bologna (169). Nowhere does the chronicler enter into a detailed report of the curricula or educational processes at the university. But it is clear from his brief remarks that Bologna exercised a wide influence in cultured circles in his day.

The same thing is true of Paris.¹¹ Among those who taught

⁹The origin and history of these famous universities are admirably traced in Rashdall, op. cit., I, 87-336. In the early thirteenth century the teaching of law was emphasized at Bologna, and the teaching of theology at Paris. This, of course, did not exclude other important subjects. For an excellent discussion of the relationship between the mendicants and the University of Paris, see ibid., I, 344-397.

¹⁰It is surprising that our chronicler has so little to write about the university centers of Europe. He visited several such cities in the course of his travels, but seemed to have little interest in the scholarship which was emerging.

¹¹Salimbene mentions a bishop of Faenza who had studied at Padua (437). Aside from this reference there is little else in the Chronicle concerning other universities.

or engaged in administrative work in this university center he records the names of Cardinal Oddo, who had previously been chancellor of Paris (223); chancellor Philip, composer of a poem dealing with the relationship between prelates and their subordinates (442); Alexander of Hales, author of many works, and a professor without peer in the entire world (234). Among the Minors who had taught at the famed institution were Brother Ariottus of Prato, minister-general of the Franciscans (579); Brother Regaldus, archbishop of Ravenna, who had taught theology in the Minors' home in Paris (434); Brother John of Parma, who lectured on the Sentences at the University (297, 298); and Brother Bonaventura of Balneo-regis, later minister-general of the Franciscan order, who lectured in admirable fashion on the entire gospel of Luke (299). It was a widely accepted procedure to go to Paris to study. Our author refers to numerous individuals who had been students there: Brother Mauricius, lector in a monastery in Provence (237); a bishop who had been sent to Paris to study by the friars in the monastery of Genoa (323); Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, who had proved to be an excellent student (394); Gerardus of San Donnino (455); and Benedict of Faenza, a physician who dearly loved John of Parma (300).¹²

¹²The confusion caused by the conduct of William of St. Amour is discussed in the Chronicle (299, 300). According to Salimbene, William provoked the University of Paris against the mendicants. As the result of his libellum he was reproved by Pope Alexander IV, and St. Louis had him forever expelled from Paris.

Obviously it would be unwise to attempt to list all the subjects upon which the chronicler touches. The pages of his volume give intimate glimpses of every day life in the middle ages. The themes mentioned are as varied as the powers of Salimbene's observation and the flights of his imagination permit. They range all the way from chess (43) to Campostello pilgrimages (54), from the clothing and feudal customs of knighthood (55, 511) to the practice of usury (609), from superfluities in worship (31) to the judgment seat of God (168), or from the unbelief of the Jews to the flavor of sea-food (321).¹³ Such is the nature of a chronicle.

In all this multiformity Salimbene never seeks to reduce his opinions or to compress his observations into any form of synthesis. Like the wandering brook his Chronicle gently, and at times aimlessly, meanders along. He is not particularly concerned to describe analytically the nexus between the shifting scenes of life.

Nevertheless it is possible to ascertain in his volume a certain Weltanschauung, which he doubtless shared to some degree with his thirteenth century contemporaries. This outlook on life is implicit throughout the Chronicle. It is the

¹³The friar often mentions intensely interesting subjects without developing them. In the list presented here it is not surprising that he takes some of the items for granted and as needing no further discussion. But it is strange that he has so little to say, for example, concerning usury, which by the thirteenth century had become a real issue in ecclesiastical circles.

apperceptive background against which our author records events and describes his reactions. Even in the heterogeneity of subjects he discusses, he manifests a fundamental unity of approach and of world view.

There is no intrinsic contradiction between miscellany and synthesis. The former often reveals the genuineness and vitality of the latter. There are varying forms and colors of vegetation on the face of the globe. But trees, flowers, and grass, although widely divergent in appearance and function, attest the vitality of the earth, their common bond of unity and source of life. This principle may obtain in the field of theology: the miscellany evident in the writings of Aquinas, for example, reveals the basic unity of his ultimate concepts. It may also be true in the realm of historiography: our Chronicle exemplifies this possibility and its realization.

The constituent elements of the synthesis found in the book are revealed through what is written in its pages and through what may safely be read between its lines. As a loyal churchman, a Bible believer, and a member of the Franciscan order, Salimbene is firmly convinced that the origin of all things is from God, that the continuity of existence is in God, that the universe is dependent upon God, and that there is a steady and ordained movement of history toward its consummation in God. This appears to be the respect in which the Chronicle may be regarded as a synthesis.

At this point a few words of caution are needed. In the endeavor to discover wherein this synthesis lies one must not take it for granted that every reference to the deity in the Chronicle is a component part of a clearly delineated world view. Salimbene mentions the name of God often. But sometimes his use of the word is idiomatic, or careless, or without purpose. Instances of such phraseology must not be pressed into unwilling service. On the other hand, there is adequate evidence in the volume to indicate that the suggested synthesis is valid.

The friar feels that the source of all created things is God. Nowhere does he state this belief explicitly. But his very lack of a bald affirmation on the subject seems to mean that, along with his contemporaries in the Christian faith, he takes the matter for granted. His naive use of the Scriptures, his reliance upon the testimony of the Fathers, the literary atmosphere he creates, the tone of confident assurance which he strikes here and there--all these suggest that in the Minor's heart there is the certainty that behind and beyond the historical scene there is the creative work of a Master-mind. One senses as he scans the pages of the Chronicle that its author is sure that the whole course of time has issued from eternity through the benevolent and sovereign will of a wise Creator.

Further, the chronicler is certain that what came into being in the first instance through sovereign fiat is still a part of God's unfolding purposes. There is a horizontal, as well as a vertical continuity between the past, the present, and

the future, between the visible and the invisible, and between the inorganic, the organic, and the divine. The same heavenly compulsion which caused the waters to gush forth from the original fount of existence now sustains the stream and directs it in pre-determined channels toward the ocean of eternity.

This continuity in God is revealed in many ways. Salimbene never wavers in the conviction, for example, that the divine will is changeless and certain of fulfilment. The Almighty, he writes, knows the mysteries of the future (69, 498).¹⁴ His decrees must be, and are being, carried out. The proof of this fact is evident in many realms of life and history. The friar asserts that the issues of life and death rest entirely in God's will (594). Whoever seeks to act contrary to the eternal purposes must suffer the consequences of his conduct. Gregory X, for example, was removed from the earthly scene for this reason. The pontiff attempted to do two things of which God disapproved: he sought to encourage the successor to the emperor Frederick II, and he endeavored to free the Holy Land (494, 495).

Salimbene's reverence for relics illustrates the same point. He regards the remains of the saints as connecting links between the visible and the invisible, the spiritual and the carnal, the past and the present, the church triumphant and the

¹⁴Such an expression as "quid futurum sit, Deus novit" (498) is probably used idiomatically, and should not be made to bear too heavy a logical load.

church militant. Of course, he feels, it is always God who works the miracles through the relics. Nonetheless, the lifeless tokens are more than mere symbols of days gone by. They are visible, tangible, and efficient demonstrations that today is but an unbroken continuation of yesterday; and that existence finds its focus in the present. Relics, thus, seem to be liaison points between the varying realms of time as well as of the spirit. In holding them in high esteem, our chronicler exhibits his conviction that all of life is an eternal unity and thus an irrefragable continuity.

This view has wide ramifications. We shall mention only two. The manner in which the friar includes in his volume (442-444) a poem by Philip, chancellor of Paris, indicates his sympathy with its sentiments. The poetic lines portray the church of Jesus Christ as a body of which the Saviour is the Head and believers are the members.¹⁵ The organs of the body are singled out for description; their physical functions and corresponding spiritual properties are outlined. The unity of the church in all its parts and members is signalized. Subordinates, prelates, hierarchy--the obligations of all these rest on mutual relationships based upon the possession of a common Head. The

¹⁵The 119 lines of this poem describe the complaints registered by different organs of the body against the stomach, their decision to cease functioning until there is a more equitable division of labor, the ensuing confusion, and the ultimate adjustment of difficulties. The writer then adds:

Hec sub typo misterii
sub uno Christo capite
geruntur in ecclesia.

life, activity, hopes, and goals of the church are one; for Christ is all in all, and Christ is Divine. There is continuity between the least and the greatest in this celestial, but for the present earthly, company; and between the most humble believer and the living God.¹⁶

The reality of this relationship appears, not only in the organization of the church, but also in her sacramental life. Salimbene insists that God is present in the sacrament of the mass. This, of course, was the teaching of the church. But the friar confirms it with Scriptural quotations (338).¹⁷ When the believer partakes, thus, of the bread he is eating the bread of heaven. Once more heaven and earth meet in glad continuity.

¹⁶The corpus mysticum was always a popular theme in the middle ages. The originality of Philip's poem consists, not in its subject, but in the amusing way in which he shows the mutual interdependence of the organs of the body. Perhaps there is no passage in the Chronicle which reveals more clearly the medieval synthesis than this poetic picture of Head and members. The life, energy, and wisdom of the Head are available to every member. And, conversely, every member is eternally related to, and dependent upon, the Head. The outworkings of this relationship are graphically depicted in the Poligraticus of John of Salisbury. See C. C. J. Webb, John of Salisbury, in "Great Medieval Churchmen," edited by L. E. Binns (London, 1932), pp. 22-74.

¹⁷In the passages he quotes, the chronicler points out at length three bases of similarity between manna and the body of the Lord (336-338), and three reasons for preserving the Host in churches and oratories. The descriptive and time-worn expression "angels' food" occurs on p. 336. The mass was central in the worship of the church. Christ himself was regarded as the bread of heaven. Nowhere did the impingement of the eternal order upon the temporal seem more evident, therefore, than in the celebration of the Eucharist.

The consequence of this persuasion on Salimbene's part is that he regards every object and event as directly dependent upon God. In order that the horizontal continuity may be maintained, a vertical relationship is essential. Evidences that the chronicler views the universe as completely under immediate, divine control are frequent in his book. The direction of events, he is sure, may be a gradual process. On the other hand, it can be through the aid of providential, or even of miraculous interventions.

Instances of God's sovereign management of mundane affairs abound in the Chronicle. At least three times the friar asserts that he received divine aid in the preparation of his volume (e.g., 66, 83). He has a sense, too, of God's presence and guidance in his travels (313). A loyal believer, he feels that the deity is ever near to bless. The Creator is always just behind the scene directing the play. Persons both important and seemingly insignificant are dependent upon his decisions. It was his act which brought about the sickness and death of Innocent IV (420). It was his wisdom¹⁸ which caused Honorius IV to die. Had the wicked man lived he would have done much harm to

¹⁸The wisdom and secret judgments of God are frequently discussed in medieval literature. The Lord's providence was often taken for granted by Christian preachers and writers of the day. See, for example, T. F. Crane, The Exempla, or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry (London, 1890), CIX, 50. This popular preacher insisted that the God of providence is also the God of power. The one who foresees the end from the beginning is able to bring his purposes to pass. Salimbene clearly shares this view.

the souls of men (619). It was divine grace (and the aid of St. Francis) which brought about the elevation to the papacy of men who had befriended the Minors (498). Dignitaries of lower degree were subject, too, to God's will. Through divine pity a certain abbot was allowed to escape his would-be murderers (622). Brother Elias was deposed from office because God willed it so (111). It was probably the work of the Lord that a certain cardinal should witness the astonishing renunciation of Brother Rainaldus (327).

Divine activity, according to Salimbene, extends in any direction suggested by divine wisdom. Just as God caused Lazarus to land safely at Marseilles in the first century (294), so he continues to change the weather as he sees fit (470). He caused a bridge to crash outside of Parma (335). He punished the Parmesans by permitting them to purchase an expensive but defective bell for their city (584); he allowed a newly completed bell to fall on the foot of a youth who had struck his father (634). It was the sword of the Lord's fury which slew the Pisans in their conflict with Genoa (535), and the soldiers of France who were attacking King Peter of Aragon (594). Clearly the arm of God was ever poised to intervene in the interests of his people and his purposes. No individual, no object, and no event was independent of his permissive or directive will.

The chronicler is convinced that the divine concern with

the current scene¹⁹ arises from the fact that God's plan has an end as well as a beginning. History is moving on toward its consummation in the Almighty. The jovial friar seems to be primarily interested in the present, with its pleasures and privileges, both spiritual and earthly. But his gaze looks forward as well as backward and upward. The actors on the stage of life fascinate him. He notes with interest, amusement, concern, or superstitious awe, the divine shifting of the scenes. But he never forgets that the stage itself is in transit to its ultimate destiny.

Again we find no lengthy exhortations on the subject, no calls to repentance before the hour of doom approaches. But Salimbene knows that beyond the present the future looms, and that every man must some day meet his God. The deity metes out punishment even during one's life-time. The chronicler relates, for example, the three-fold judgments of God against the murderers of lady Beatrice of Apulia (638). But such exhibitions of divine wrath are but preliminary to the ultimate meeting of man with his Maker. Whether or not one's name is recorded in the book of life is determinative of one's destiny

¹⁹The thesis of J. J. Walsh that the thirteenth is the greatest of all centuries is doubtless an overstatement of the case. See his The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries (New York, 1912). Walsh has unduly compressed the various aspects of the century into categories, and seems to have lost much of the medieval atmosphere in doing so. More impressionistic, but more accurate presentations of the medieval scene are found in Taylor, op. cit., and in E. Gebhart, Mystics and Heretics in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages (London, 1932).

(650). Before the tribunal of the Judge of the earth man's thoughts and deeds will be weighed. The portion of the generous will be Christ's commendation and a place in the heavenly kingdom (47). Dire penalties will be measured out to the unworthy (168). Then it will be too late to amend one's ways (117). The righteous indignation of the Lord will be poured out upon the faithless.

God's eternal superintendence, according to the chronicler, governs every area of life. Firmly assured that his own career and destiny are inextricably related to God's will, the friar is equally confident that matters political, ecclesiastical, social, and spiritual, are subject to divine control. Earth is bound to heaven by chains forged at the anvils of the Lord. Angels, devils, and men, the whole of creation, and the course of history--all are in God's hand. He is bringing his will to certain and blessed fruition in the heavenly kingdom. With that central conviction and with the sense that he is moving toward that blissful consummation Salimbene writes his Chronicle and then lays down his pen.

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A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR

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April 14, 1945

C. J. W.

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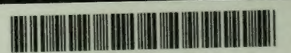
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